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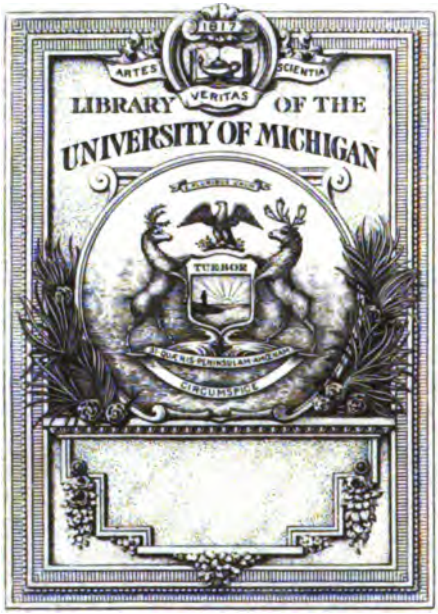

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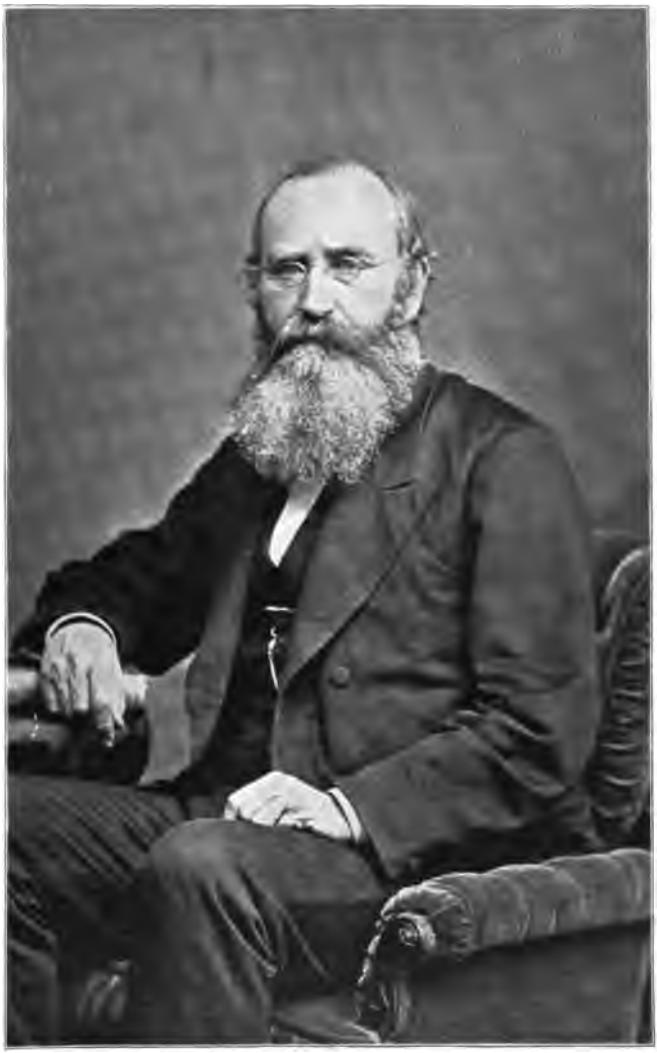

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"Faithful to the Truth:
True to the Faith."

BY

ADOLPH SPAETH, D.D., LL.D
— in the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia

In Two Volumes

VOLUME I., 1823–1859

NEW YORK
The Christian Literature Company
1898

C. P. Krauss

Charles Porterfield Krauth

D.D., LL.D.

NORTON PROFESSOR OF SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY AND CHURCH POLITY IN THE LUTHERAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY IN PHILADELPHIA; PROFESSOR OF INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY, AND VICE-PROVOST OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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PREFACE.

Soon after the death of Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth his life-long and intimate friend, the late Dr. Beale M. Schmucker, suggested to the writer, and strongly encouraged him, to undertake the preparation of a biography. It was due to the memory of the man himself, and due to the Lutheran Church in America—whose most brilliant, and at the same time, most generally beloved son he may be called—that such a biography should appear.

The work was at once undertaken. It was a labor of love and a source of unspeakable delight and blessing to the writer himself. For more than ten years this volume has been ready for the printer. Its appearance has been delayed by various reasons which need not be specified.

The writer had access to Dr. Krauth's vast correspondence and all the family papers that have been preserved. A number of Dr. Krauth's nearest friends cheerfully and generously assisted him by furnishing their correspondence and much valuable information. Among them special acknowledgments are due to Dr. Beale M. Schmucker,* not only for his own but also for a considerable part of his father's correspondence and private papers; to John M. Krauth * of Gettysburg, chiefly for the papers of Dr. Charles Philip Krauth; to Drs. F. A. Muhlenberg, Charles A. Hay,* John G. Morris,* J. A. Seiss, H. E. Jacobs; and Messrs. Thomas H. Lane and John K. Shryock.

* Deceased.

Besides these unpublished documents, the files of our Church papers, which were carefully studied, furnished ample material from Dr. Krauth's own pen, out of which the history of his life could be woven, very much in his own words. For it was the writer's aim to make this Memoir as nearly an autobiography as possible. Each chapter gives first, in a brief outline, the history of that particular period of his life, and then presents the material itself on which the account is based, in extracts from letters and other sources.

A full Index will be furnished in the second volume. The table of contents for the different chapters will be found sufficiently complete to make the absence of the index in this first volume less felt.

The Motto chosen for this Memoir is Dr. Krauth's description of Martin Luther, in the biography of the great Reformer which he undertook shortly before his death—"Faithful to the Truth, and true to the Faith." It may be properly applied to Dr. Krauth himself. It represents his own religious and theological development. Faithful to the truth of God's everlasting Word, he became ever more true to the Faith of the Church of his Fathers, and in the end its most consistent, learned, and eloquent witness in the English language. If we mistake not, there are not a few in our American Lutheran Church who, under the influence of their early training, still have their difficulties with that faith of the fathers, but are earnestly endeavoring to overcome them. We trust that this Memoir may be of special service to all such honest inquirers.

A. S.

MOUNT AIRY, PHILADELPHIA,
March 17, 1898.

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CHARLES PORTERFIELD KRAUTH.

FIRST CHAPTER.

ANCESTORS. REV. CHARLES PHILIP KRAUTH, D.D. 1797–1867.

The ancestors of the Krauth family came from Germany, and, as far as we are able to trace them, from the region along the Lower Rhine, where intermarriages between German and French, especially in the second half of the eighteenth century, were no unusual occurrence. Toward the close of that century Charles James Krauth emigrated from there, to found a home in this Western hemisphere. He was followed between 1813 and 1815 by his brother, John Leyden Krauth. Their grandmother had been of French descent. Both were men of good education and of great musical talent. They were not long in finding employment as organists and teachers in Lutheran congregations, the latter in Frederick, Md., the former in Pennsylvania. A son of John Leyden Krauth, named Frederick Keller Krauth, born at Hagerstown, Md., June 6, 1823, editor and proprietor of the *Alameda Encinal*, Alameda, Cal., and one of the "California Pioneers," thinks that his father came to America from a French port, and not before 1813 or 1814. He understood typesetting and was a born musician, at home with any instrument. Teaching music was his profession, some of the young folk of the best families in Maryland and Pennsylvania being his pupils. He spoke and

read the French language. In the house of his eldest son, in New York, on one occasion, when he was fully seventy years old, he sang for the family gathering "La Marseillaise" in the original, accompanying himself on the piano. He died in the summer of 1849 at the age of seventy-two, at Reading, Pa. Charles James Krauth is the grandfather of Charles Porterfield Krauth. In August, 1794, we find him as teacher and organist in the Lutheran congregation of New Goshenhoppen, Upper Hannover township, Montgomery County, Pa., near Pennsburg. He is said to have been exceedingly handsome and very proud, and his wife, Katherine née Doll, was his match in both qualities. At New Goshenhoppen, where the Rev. F. W. Geissenhainer was then pastor of the Lutheran congregation, their first children were born—Mary, born May 12, 1795, baptized May 24, sponsors Heinrich Keck and Maria Doll, and Charles Philip, born May 7, 1797, baptized May 14, sponsors George Adam and Susanna Ewald.

In February, 1798, Charles James Krauth moved to Philadelphia, where, from December 26, 1799, to March, 1803, his name appears on the records of the German Society as a member. In the year 1802 he was one of the secretaries of the society, Peter Muhlenberg being the president. But his stay in Philadelphia does not seem to have extended beyond the spring of 1803. He moved further south to Baltimore, Md., and to Winchester, Va., and in 1814 we find him in Norfolk, Va., enrolled in the army for the defence of that place. The family, who seem to have lived chiefly in Baltimore, must have been in humble circumstances during that period. Six children were added to it after the removal from Montgomery County: John Martin, November 12, 1799; Eliza Anne, November 19, 1803; William Theodore, November 10,

1806; Edmund Augustus, March, 1809; Robert Taylor, May 16, 1814; Louise Katharine, October 5, 1817. Of some of them a few reminiscences are preserved in the family papers. Mary, the firstborn, must have been a woman of remarkable gifts and talents. In her twentieth year she married Colonel Robert L. Taylor and died in 1818, the same year in which her only child, Oscar, was born. Her marriage with Colonel Taylor does not seem to have had the approval of the family. She once complains that her father, "though possessed of a feeling heart and an understanding inferior to few, neglects to write to his once caressed and fondly attached Mary." Neither seem the relations between her and her brother Charles Philip to have been of an intimate character. From a letter of Colonel Thomas G. Swain, addressed to Dr. Charles Philip Krauth, July 3, 1830, we gather the following points:

"She had many wealthy admirers, was beautiful and amiable; studied with her husband and under his direction the living languages, and was an excellent performer on the piano. Among her instructors were Count Becourt and Dr. Mechell, who after the restoration of the Bourbons was Bishop of Toulouse. A few days before her death, in answer to Dr. Gertier, whether she was a poetess before she knew Mr. Taylor, she said: 'Sir, I was nothing. I am what Mr. Taylor made me. Had I married any other man I would have been nobody.'"

William Theodore, the fifth child of Charles James Krauth, became a jeweller in Lynchburg, Va. His widow, now Mrs. Tilton, was still living at the time of this writing. In a letter addressed to his brother Charles Philip, he inquires after another brother, Edmund Augustus, expressing a fear that he may be lost. He adds: "Your letters I am very much pleased with, because they

contain something beside our worldly affairs, that is, you write on the subject of religion. I have never made a profession of religion but am in hopes that I shall."

Edmund Augustus seems to have been the most restless and adventurous of the whole family. He went to sea when only fourteen years of age. He is heard of a few times, and finally disappears, probably having been lost at sea. October 25, 1838, he writes from Petersburg, Va., to his brother Charles Philip as follows:

A few months ago I anxiously embraced an opportunity which offered of sailing to City Point, in order that I might avail myself of a short land passage to Lynchburg. Since my arrival here, however, I have received such intelligence as will prevent my journey thither. I am almost distracted in consequence of my uncertainty concerning you all. I am entirely ignorant of the location of everyone except yourself. I do not know where Robert is, else I would write to and visit him. Tell me all about Louise and my sister Harriett, my nephew and niece. You will be curious to learn something about myself, and I shall ere long, I hope, be able to gratify you in every particular. Of one thing only I will now assure you (and I do it because I have always thought you anxious about it) that in every situation in which I have been placed I have so conducted myself as became your brother and your pupil. You need never be ashamed of my name in the apprehension that anything of a dishonorable or unmanly nature can be coupled with it. You may consider this egotism very foolish, but, owing to the fact of my having been absent so long from you, and your knowing nothing of me, except that I must necessarily be exposed to temptations and trials of every kind—I have deemed it due to you as well as to myself to be guilty of it.

In my pecuniary affairs I am independent, only because my desires are moderate. I have ceased long ago to form schemes for the future which every day's experi-

ence has convinced me I shall never realize. I have command of a fine brig, the "Britannia," which I am about to relinquish, with the view of settling myself in some other business. For this purpose I had chosen Richmond or Lynchburg as a suitable place. But this last news from the latter place has altered my intention. I have not now even a desire to visit Lynchburg, it would only give me pain; I must ever regard it only as the sepulchre of all that was dear to me. By going there now I would realize, in all their particulars, the lines of a favorite poet:

> "To the home of my childhood in sorrow I came,
> And I fondly expected to find it the same,
> Full of sunshine and joy, as I thought it to be
> In days when the world was all sunshine to me."

Six years later he appears once more in Philadelphia and writes to his brother, then President of Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa., September 3, 1844, expressing his intention "to resort to that other iron, which has never failed me on shore, the business of a printer."

The last surviving member of this large family was Louise, the youngest daughter, married in 1837 to the Rev. David Frederick Bittle, then pastor of Mt. Tabor Lutheran congregation, Augusta County, Va., and afterward President of Roanoke College, who died in 1876. Both the parents, Charles James Krauth and his wife Katharine, died in Lynchburg, Va., the one in 1821, the other in 1823.

However meagre and fragmentary our information concerning the family may be, it is sufficient to prove that Charles Philip was looked upon as the head and centre of this large circle of brothers and sisters. He held this place not only as the oldest son, but on account of his superior gifts, the excellency of his character, and the position he gained for himself in life. And as the personal character of his son Charles Porterfield, and the work

assigned to him by Providence, can only be fully understood and appreciated on the basis of a proper knowledge of the father's character and life, the rest of this chapter is devoted to a short biographical sketch of Charles Philip Krauth. To his memory the grateful son dedicated his greatest work, "The Conservative Reformation and its Theology." Unfortunately his intention to write a biography of his father was never carried out, though he had begun to collect the material for it. We follow in the main the reminiscences published by his friend, Dr. J. G. Morris, and the biographical sketch in the *Evangelical Review*, vol. xix. pp. 90 ff., prepared by Professor M. L. Stoever.

Of the early life of Charles Philip Krauth comparatively little is known in consequence of his singular and habitual reticence with regard to himself. He was, however, considered by the children, cotemporary with him at school, as very precocious, quick in his apprehensions, and successful in study. "We thought him," writes Charles A. Morris, of York, who knew him when he was about seven or eight years of age, "very far advanced in his arithmetic, but we boys were disposed to ascribe his success to the fact of his having a father who was a teacher." He seems to have been, from a youth, of an inquiring turn of mind and fond of books. His natural love of knowledge led him to improve his opportunities to good purpose, so that, without the advantages of a collegiate education, he attained to a very respectable measure of intellectual culture. He early evinced a decided taste for linguistic studies, and, in the prosecution of Latin, Greek, and French, won for himself high credit. He evidently, at this period, formed those habits of accuracy and thoroughness which characterized his future career, and were the foundation of his literary success and

influence. Having selected medicine as his profession, he commenced its study when about eighteen years of age, under the direction of Dr. Selden, of Norfolk, Va., a man of eminence in that day, and subsequently attended a course of lectures in the University of Maryland. But his funds having become exhausted, he visited Frederick, Md., with the view of procuring pecuniary aid from an uncle, the organist of the Lutheran church, or of negotiating a loan, for the completion of his medical studies. Having failed in his object, and greatly disappointed in the expectations which he had cherished, he called to see the Rev. D. F. Schaeffer, whose acquaintance he had formed during the journey in the stage-coach from Baltimore to Frederick. In the course of the conversation, the sacred ministry was incidentally suggested as a field of usefulness for young men. In the midst of his embarrassments, and his disregard of the claims of religion, he was not permitted to devote his superior natural endowments and the mental discipline, already acquired, to the service of the world. A higher power had set him apart for a more important work in the service of Him whose authority over his heart and life he had not yet acknowledged. This visit was the turning-point in his history. His mind, after a serious consideration of the subject, was led to the conclusion that the ministry was the work to which God had called him. He very soon began his theological studies under the instructions of Rev. Dr. Schaeffer, and, at every step of his progress, was more strongly convinced that he was acting in accordance with the divine will. He earnestly desired to enter the wide field that lay stretched before him, even though distrust of his own qualifications would have deterred him from seeking so responsible an office.

While he was engaged at Frederick, in the prosecution

of his studies, in the year 1818, Rev. Abram Reck, of Winchester, Va., who was in feeble health and had, at the time, charge of nine congregations, wrote to Dr. Schaeffer, inquiring if he could not send him a theological student to aid him in the discharge of his laborious duties. In compliance with his request, Dr. Schaeffer sent young Mr. Krauth, who continued his studies under the direction of Pastor Reck, and assisted him in preaching the Gospel, visiting the sick, and performing other pastoral labor. He was very popular with the congregation and highly respected for his uniform piety and zeal. He was licensed to preach the Gospel by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania at its meeting in Baltimore, in 1819, and his first pastoral charge embraced the churches of Martinsburg and Shepherdstown, Va.

In 1826 and 1827 he was associated with Dr. F. Schaeffer in editing the "*Evangelical Lutheran Intelligencer*, containing historical, biographical, and religious memoirs: with essays on the doctrines of Luther, and practical remarks and anecdotes, for the edification of pious persons of all denominations." In the introductory address he said, among other things:

Though it will never be our ambition to appear in the controversial attitude, yet we shall feel ourselves sacredly pledged, whenever circumstances may require it, "to contend for the faith once delivered to the Saints." The necessity of assuming such a character—a character not congenial with our feelings—will be followed by a vindication of those articles that are contained in the creeds and confessions of the Lutheran Church. Our Church, numbering at present in her ministerial rank upward of two hundred, and reduced into one thousand organized communities, recently bound together in a General Synod and at this moment putting forth her strength for the es-

tablishment of a theological seminary in which her pious youth are to be trained for the office that " preaches the atonement," will furnish every-day occurrences with which our pages will be enriched, and our friends edified.

The first number of this magazine contains the action of the General Synod toward the establishment of the Theological Seminary in Gettysburg, of which he became a director in 1826 and afterward an honored professor. The articles contributed by him are mostly devoted to the practical life of the Church, and the personal piety of her members, the presentation of the cause of Lutheran Missions having a prominent place among them. In October, 1826, he was elected president of the Synod of Maryland and Virginia. At the opening of the convention, the following year, he declined a re-election, in consequence of having received and accepted a call to St. Matthew's congregation, recently organized in Philadelphia, then worshipping in the Academy, on Fourth Street.

The removal of Mr. Krauth to Philadelphia, in 1827, marks a new epoch, not only in the history of our English Lutheran interests in that city, but of his own life. Brought into new associations, surrounded by active, earnest, living men, with large libraries at his command, the best books on all subjects accessible, new powers seemed to be awakened within him, new energies were developed. As a scholar, a theologian, and a preacher, he rapidly advanced, and made a deep impression upon the community. At first, he encountered some opposition from the German churches in the prejudices which existed, even at that day, against the introduction of the English language into the services of the sanctuary, but this all vanished when his character and object were bet-

ter understood. With the German ministers, Drs. Schaeffer and Demme, particularly with the latter, he was on the most cordial and confidential terms. He ever referred to him with veneration and affection, and in his excellent address on "The advantages arising to the American Student from his access to German Literature by means of a knowledge of the German Language," delivered by him at the request of the directors of the Theological Seminary in Gettysburg, May 17, 1832, he gave expression to his warm feeling of gratitude to him who had stimulated and aided him in this study. After the death of Dr. Demme, he paid him the following tribute, in the *Lutheran and Missionary* (November 19, 1863):

In looking over my intercourse with this distinguished divine, I think first of the benefits conferred upon me by him. Educated himself in the best schools of Germany, largely acquainted with the theology of his fatherland, he had in me one whose training had been very different, and who, although somewhat versed in the German language yet very far from perfection, knew next to nothing of German theology. Ready to impart, willing to open his stores to a ready recipient, he found in me one willing to receive gratefully his guidance. Through him I became acquainted with the authors in highest repute in that day, and from him I obtained the use of their works. In the departments of Homiletics, Didactic Theology, Exegesis, and Ecclesiastical History, his judgment was to me of the highest value. We soon commenced to import books together from Perthes and Besser, in Hamburg, and continued it for many years. If I were to say that in the sphere of Theology, taking it in its widest sense, his instructions were more profitable to me than those of any other or all the men I have known, it would be the simple truth. I was not his pupil in the technical sense. The idea never entered his head that there was

the gradation of teacher and pupil between us. The subject on which we conversed most was that which interests in the highest degree all who have charge of congregations, and this is the sphere in which my friend attained an eminence which I think was not surpassed in this country in his day. I mean Homiletics or sermonizing.

In the year 1833, when Dr. Hazelius resigned his professorship in the Theological Seminary, at Gettysburg, the attention of the Board of Directors was, at once, turned to Mr. Krauth as the man best qualified for the position. As a Hebraist, he had not his superior at the time, in the Church, the result of his own earnest, indefatigable application. He was unanimously chosen Professor of Biblical and Oriental Literature. The appointment was popular, and was regarded by the Church generally, as most judicious. But, inasmuch as the funds of the institution were not, then, adequate to sustain two professors, it was agreed that part of his time should be devoted to instruction in Pennsylvania College, which had received a charter from the State, the previous year. The understanding was that, so soon as the proper arrangements could be made, his duties should be entirely confined to the Theological Seminary.

In the spring of 1834, Professor Krauth was unanimously elected President of Pennsylvania College and entered on his duties in October, at the same time giving service in the Theological Seminary. In all his relations as president of the college, in his intercourse with the students, with his colleagues, and the public, he was a model of Christian propriety and prudence, of humility and conscientiousness, of purity and honor, whom all could approach, whom none could reproach, always ready to listen and advise, considerate and kind, yet in-

dependent in his conclusions, and always firm and uncompromising when a question of principle was involved. A more judicious man in his official position, more delicate in his feelings and discreet in his conduct, could nowhere have been found. He was remarkably reticent in that which was not to be communicated, as skilful in concealment as he was particular in statement, always reliable, a discerning observer, a prudent counsellor, and a safe guide. He brought to the consideration of every practical question, not only the rare qualities of his intellect, but also the impartial and just feelings of his heart. He seemed incapable of an act of injustice, or intentional wrong, toward anyone. The history of the college, during his connection with it, furnishes an unerring proof of his fidelity and success as a presiding officer. During his administration, the college edifice was erected, in which with his family he resided for thirteen years, until his withdrawal from the institution, and exercised a constant and paternal care over the students.

In the autumn of 1850, while yet in the vigor of manhood, he relinquished, with great satisfaction, the anxious, toilsome, and often ungrateful work of the college presidency, for the more quiet, congenial, and pleasant duties of theological instruction. Here he was in his element. Here he enjoyed repose. Devoted to his books, and fond of research, loved and revered by his pupils, he was happy and useful, an ornament to the position, and a blessing to the Church. For five years, during his connection with the seminary, he also served with great acceptance as pastor of the congregation, with which the institutions are united.

During the time of his full connection with the seminary he also acted from 1850 to 1861 as editor of *The Evangelical Review*, which had been established in 1849

by Professor William M. Reynolds, of Pennsylvania College, and which in those days was a great power in favor of a historical, conservative Lutheranism in America.

Dr. Charles Philip Krauth's mind was of the highest order, capacious, powerful in its grasp of subjects, active and discriminating. His analytic and reflective faculties were largely developed and strengthened by varied reading and diligent study. His perceptions were remarkably accurate and penetrating, so that whenever he undertook to investigate a question, he was sure to attain the clearest ideas of it which its nature admitted. His mind was distinguished for the harmonious blending of all its powers. He was a man of mature, independent, sound judgment. He early acquired a love of research, a habit of thinking for himself, and his opinions were always formed with deliberation, and in view of all the evidence he possessed. He was also gifted with a singularly retentive memory, in which were carefully treasured the results of his study and observation. He seemed to remember everything he ever heard, and often surprised his friends by the minute exactness of his knowledge. His attainments were much more extensive and varied, his erudition richer and more thorough, than many persons imagined. He was a universal scholar, large-minded in his views, a man of the highest literary culture. He was acquainted with the best productions in the English language. As a linguist he took the highest rank. The Sacred Scriptures he daily studied in the original. His intimacy with the Latin and Greek classics, which he read with almost the same facility as his vernacular, was maintained by frequent perusals, to the close of life; and for the modern idea, that would, in a course of liberal education, reject the study of these ancient authors, he entertained the most profound contempt. His knowledge of

German literature and German theology was so general and thorough, that a stranger would have supposed he had been educated at some German University. So conversant was he with the principles of law and medicine, so comprehensive his information, that upon one unacquainted with his antecedents, the impression was often produced, that these subjects had been the exclusive studies of his life. He loved learning for its own sake. It was an absorbing passion, and he was never happier than when in his library among his treasured lore, or when discoursing with friends on his favorite topics. From early life he was an untiring reader, and when he went to Philadelphia, where he had access to large libraries, he became literally omnivorous. He rambled over the whole field of theological science and literature. He was always at it, and thus gained an extraordinary amount of information on almost every subject of human thought. He was an inveterate bibliophile, and piled up books as high as his means would allow. Dr. Demme's fine collection was open to him, and the various libraries of Philadelphia had no more frequent visitor than him. On entering any room in which there were books, immediately after the salutation he would almost rush to the shelves, to examine the contents, although he had been there a dozen times before. But, notwithstanding his acquisitions were so vast, and his resources so ample, his sense of propriety and æsthetic culture never allowed him to make a display of his knowledge. No trace of pedantry tinged his intercourse with others. A more unostentatious man, more modest and unassuming, never lived. He seldom availed himself of his learning in the class-room. One of his most distinguished scholars, himself a professor in a theological seminary, says of him: "He only discovered what he really knew when we asked

him questions. All regarded him as the most learned man in the faculty. He sometimes would tell us not only the volume, but the page where to find what we wanted."

In the pulpit, in spite of the weakness of his voice, Dr. Krauth exerted an extraordinary power of moving men. Few men understood, so well as he, the art of preaching, the construction of a discourse, its arrangement and application, the whole subject of Homiletics, acquired not only by the examination of the best authors in the English and German languages, but by the thorough study of human nature in all its phases, and of the most successful agencies for convincing the understanding and reaching the heart.

In the direction of authorship, Dr. Krauth did very little, not only because his regular duties engrossed his time so completely, for during the greater part of the thirty-four years he was connected with the institutions at Gettysburg he was performing the work of two or three men, but on account of his great aversion to appear before the public, unless required by an imperative necessity. He was too much disposed to underrate his own abilities. When urged to write more for the press, he would often playfully remark, that he did not suppose the world would be any wiser by anything that he could produce.

He was never engaged in any public controversy. While he firmly adhered to his own honestly formed convictions, and was ready to defend them against attack, he had no fondness for disputation or strife. When suffering grievances, he was willing to keep quiet, to bear personal injury, and even injustice, rather than engage in acrimonious discussions, which he knew were not for the edification of the Church. "Contend," said he, "we should for the faith, but in a meek and gentle spirit. We

are to contend for truth, not for victory; for the glory of God, not our own." "Treating our opponents with fairness, seeking to do full justice to their views, we should abstain from all reproachful epithets, and endeavor, by honest arguments, to vindicate our position."

He was not at the head of any party, nor did he control any clique. He did not aim at introducing innovations, and thus attracting attention; he did not propagate new theories and secure followers, or bring upon himself reproach. When his name was mentioned, it was with reverence; when his conduct was spoken of, it was with approbation. No student ever left Gettysburg, who did not admire his character as a man.

Dr. Krauth was a man of very attractive personal qualities. He was a model of integrity and propriety, of the duties and graces he inculcated. In his daily walk, in his social relations, in the class-room, the sanctuary, and the pulpit, was seen the beautiful harmony between his teachings and his life. He was constituted with a large share of benevolent feeling. It shone in his countenance, it breathed from his lips, it found expression in his kind manners, it pervaded his whole nature. He cherished no resentments. His utter unselfishness ever prompted him to forget himself, when there were opportunities offered of doing good. "His zeal involved no element of self." He seemed unconscious of his own interests. He was always ready to make sacrifices, and to confer favors with a cheerfulness and self-abnegation rarely equalled. Although so kind and sympathetic in his nature, and so observant of the proprieties of life, he still had a strong sense of right and wrong, and when he was deeply impressed with the idea of evil-doing, he knew how to give utterance to his feelings in solemn and indignant rebuke. Honor with him was a cardinal virtue. He abhorred

meanness. He despised duplicity. His devotion to principle was a most prominent trait in his character. We never heard him charged, even in a whisper, with any unworthy conduct, with an attempt to accomplish a purpose by a circuitous route, or an equivocal course, with seeming to be intent on the attainment of one end, while his efforts were really directed to another. From all such manifestations his purity revolted. "In him," said Dr. H. I. Schmidt, an intimate friend who had every opportunity to form an estimate of his true character, "there was no seeming, no hollow pretence, not a particle of sham. Whatever personal peculiarities he had, they were rooted in a sincerity so decided and transparent, that distrust and suspicion in the minds of any, who approached him, were instantly disarmed, and confidence, unbounded, claimed and won. It was the fundamental property of a crystalline sincerity, which, combined with the warm impulses of a generous and loving heart, made him so inestimable a friend."

He excelled as a conversationalist, but, as with all good talkers, it required the stimulus of congenial company to draw him out. He could be dull as well as others, and was not always in the vein, but put him in the society of men he liked, men of similar talents and dispositions, where he could be free from all strait-laced restraint, and when his companions could say smart things also, then he was entertaining, and his utterances were rich. Wit, story, reminiscence, historic fact, quotation, and everything that makes up the enjoyable talker, was displayed by him. But, unlike many good talkers, he was a capital listener. This was the outflow of his natural politeness, and he could listen patiently to a dull story, which would make other men nervous.

The secret of his attractive qualities, his beautiful life

and eminent usefulness, lay in the depths of his religious convictions, in the power of the Gospel to transform and exalt character, in his consistent, uniform, and all-pervading piety. Mind, heart, and religious feeling were in unison. His whole life, since his first espousal of the cause of Christ, had been an uninterrupted course of devotion to its interests. Trained in daily duty, religion became the ascendant power of his soul. It was not a mere abstraction, or a dogma, but a life, nourished from an inward supply, and not by superficial, transitory causes. It had acquired the power of a habit and the force of a regulating principle. It pervaded his whole character. It was carried by him into every position, and his very presence was felt as an atmosphere of holiness and a rebuke to sin. In his conversation, in social communion, in casual and uninterrupted intercourse, he appeared the deeply spiritual and devoted man of God, in the habitual exercise of a living faith, an example of Christian piety and excellence, fruitful in good works, which it was refreshing to behold. To his mind there was nothing gloomy connected with the subject of religion. It had no dark side. It was associated with all that was designed to invigorate the intellect, elevate the affections, and brighten life, to make the soul glad, and enable it to look with strong hope on all the events of this checkered life.

Being constitutionally a man of peace and averse to controversy, he refrained as much as possible from taking any open and prominent part in the great conflict which agitated the Lutheran Church of his days, between New School and Old School, or, as it was more commonly called, between American Lutheranism and Symbolism.

He once said, "I find the Lutheran doctrine of the Sacraments hard to accept, in view of my Puritanic train-

ing, but I find the Scripture passages quoted in favor of them still harder to get over and explain away, and this I apprehend is the feeling of many who see the truth, but are slow to make a decided and public demonstration of it."

It was natural that both parties should claim him as belonging to them, and that between his colleagues at the seminary, the thorough-going radicalism of Dr. S. S. Schmucker, the leader of the New Theology, on the one side, and the unflinching orthodoxy of Dr. C. F. Schaeffer on the other, he felt himself at times quite uncomfortable. In a letter of October 2, 1862, addressed to his friend Professor H. I. Schmidt, Columbia College, New York, he gives utterance to his perplexity on this point in the following words:

I have three times defined my position and at each time offended both extremes. Some call me a rigid Symbolist, others an extreme New Measure man. I am neither. If I say so again I draw down upon me the extremists of both sides. I acknowledge no standard of Lutheranism but the Augsburg Confession. If an American Lutheran is a Lutheran in the United States who regards that Symbol as the only authoritative one, I am an American Lutheran. So I have said again and again.

In most beautiful and touching language has his true attitude in this respect been described by his son, when he speaks of

men in our Church in America who are not positive in their convictions on all points of Lutheran doctrine, but who are reverential and are sincere. Never do they assail the doctrines of our Church; they look upon such a course with horror; they regard the departure from the faith as in itself abnormal and deplorable, and they do not labor to perpetuate it. Such men are

sometimes, just as suits the ends of false Lutherans, assailed, on the one side, as covert Symbolists, or claimed, on the other, as sympathizers with fanaticism. They are neither. They are men of God who, in a wonderful Providence, whose issues are now fast ripening, are in a Church which they love, although the influences of early education have fixed certain difficulties in regard to her doctrines in their minds. Their hearts are with our Church as a mother. Their sympathies and hopes are with those who are striving to defend her. They wish that what are charged on her as blemishes may prove to be beauties. Such men are not against the truth, and therefore are, in an important sense, with it. (*Lutheran and Missionary*, November 19, 1863.)

Among those who knew him best there could be no doubt that, in spite of his aversion to actual participation in the controversy, the real weight of his influence was on the side of conservatism and faithfulness to the standards of his Church. He could never be convinced that such faithfulness must be hostile to vital godliness, opposed to evangelical religion and necessarily tending to produce formalism and intolerance in the Church. His very first contribution to the *Evangelical Review*, July, 1849, on "Schmid's Dogmatik of the Lutheran Church," is a strong and fearless plea for the study of the doctrinal system, as it is exhibited in the Symbolical Books and in the writings of the eminent divines who remained faithful to those books in their exposition of Christianity. In this essay he says:

The question may be asked, is this theology of any importance to the Lutheran Church in America? To this question, which has not unfrequently been put, and particularly since these views have again been brought before the Church, answers have been furnished with great readiness and, we may venture to say, with an emphasis

which was not justified by either a very thorough knowledge of the subject or even a decent acquaintance with it. It is affirmed by young divines and by old, some of whom, we fear, cannot read the divines whom they condemn, in the language which they employ to convey their ideas, that all this divinity is obsolete—it belongs to a dark age and to half-illuminated men—that it is deserving of no respect and reflects no special credit on its authors. Its peculiarities are regarded as beneath criticism, and based upon views which can find no tolerance, not a particle, in the deductions of reason and an enlightened exegesis of the Word of God.

Others, with a better appreciation of the gigantic intellect employed in these researches, according to our earlier divines eminent abilities and extraordinary devotion to the interests of theology and theological science, nevertheless maintain that such advances have been made in every department of theology, since the days of Luther, Melanchthon, and their immediate successors, that we may safely discard their instructions—those, we mean, that were peculiar to them—and feel confident, too, that if they could now reappear amongst men, or if they had existence granted to them in the present era of light, they would be the first to dash their own system in pieces, and foremost in placing themselves in the ranks of modern orthodoxy. But even admitting that these views are correct, it by no means follows that we should be indifferent either to the writings of the Reformers, the Symbolical Books, or the system of the earlier divines. They belong to the history of the Church which we call our own; they have, independently of intrinsic value, a high historic importance. No man, who has a tolerable acquaintance with them, can say that they do not contain, on all vital points of Christianity, the noblest instruction; in all Christian experience, the amplest developments; and in all points of Christian ethics, the purest lessons.

Our verdict is unequivocally in behalf of the study, the thorough study, of this theology. We would have it

thrown over our Church with a liberal hand; we would have all our ministers acquainted with the Symbolical Books; we would have them all versed in the distinctive theology of the Church. We would have introduced into our theological schools the study of the Symbols, and didactic and polemic theology so administered as to bring before the view pure, unadulterated Lutheranism. The gain to our ministry and to our Church would be immense, if this course were adopted. As things are, we have no standard, no guide. Everyone is left to fix his own views; and while we presume there is general agreement in our Church on the fundamental doctrines of the Bible, our ministers display, in the opinions they entertain, sometimes a decided Calvinistic influence, sometimes an extreme Arminian, sometimes a Pelagian. There is, we think, very little of the ancient theology about which we need entertain any doubt; the mass of it has never been, and we believe never will be, surpassed. Some points may be found untenable—some may need modification—the defence of the whole may be placed, in some respects, upon a surer basis—but, take it all in all, we do not expect it ever to become obsolete. It is not designed that the inference should be made that the writer agrees in his views with these theologians; he does not mean to endorse everything that they have written; he does not intend to intimate that wisdom has died with them; he does not think of disparaging the labors of later theologians; he does not avow it as his belief that the period of progress terminated with the labors of these men; he does not believe that future advances are not to be made in the knowledge of God and divine things; but, grateful for what has been done by great men in a great age—admiring the power of intellect, the strength of logic, and the skill in Holy Writ displayed by these Lutheran Fathers, believing that they were more than ordinary men, and deeply imbued with the spirit of the great Author of Christianity—he simply proposes that they shall be honored for what they have done, that their

cause may be heard, that they may be decorously treated by their sons in this Western hemisphere, and that they may be made subservient to our instruction in all truth and righteousness, so far as they evince themselves capable of becoming so. Indeed, if we would refute their doctrines, we ought at least to know what they were, and fully to comprehend them; and if we would do it effectually we should go back to the fundamental principles on which their system is based, and, destroying the foundation, secure an easy victory over all that has been made to rest upon it. Should this work of demolition be undertaken by us, we shall discern that the very weapons which we will employ may be gathered from their own writings, and enjoy the satisfaction of knowing how they would meet our polemics by looking at what was done by them, when their cotemporaries met them with the same instruments. It is, indeed, a singular fact, very singular, we think, that all this stolidity, as it is regarded so often, and so easily refuted, should, nevertheless, as has been intimated already, be revived so extensively in our day—revived after the intellect of man has exhausted itself in devising systems of every description, has employed itself in producing opinions of every shade and hue—it is strange that it should now seek repose and satisfaction in these exploded dogmas, and embrace them, not only as a rich treasure, but as the only satisfactory account of the contents of the Book of God. This in itself ought to temper our bitterness of condemnation, soothe the anger with which we are ready to assail them, and induce us to believe that the cause of the opponents of the older orthodoxy is not so clearly established as to preclude the necessity of any further investigation.

Schmid's work has been translated in the United States, but has not been put to press or published.* It would be rendering a good service to our Church to bring

* A translation by Drs. Charles A. Hay and H. E. Jacobs appeared in November, 1875. A second edition came out in 1888, and a third edition will be printed from plates in the fall of 1898.

it out. It may be doubtful whether the patronage would justify the expense, but we think that the increasing desire to become acquainted with the doctrines of the Church, and the demand for the Symbolical Books, are symptomatic of a return to better feelings than have prevailed in regard to the Church, and that the time has passed away in which we are to assume every phase which may be presented to us, to glory that we are like everybody, and, consequently, are nothing in ourselves, living only by the breath of others. These are signs of the times —they mean that the things which have been, can be no more; that the Church is returning to the sobriety of her better days, and that theology, systematic and biblical, may expect to receive attention such as it deserves. Let, then, the holders of this book, in its translated form, as soon as they can, without incurring loss, bring it out; and, although their labors may be followed by no pecuniary profit, they will do good; they will aid in making known the patristic theology of our Church and prepare the way for an intelligent determination of the extent to which we can subscribe to the orthodoxy of other days.

Dr. Charles Philip Krauth fell asleep in Jesus May 30, 1867. It was the sad privilege of his son to see him breathe his last. "Though I have been at many deathbeds," he writes to his daughter Harriett, "I have seen none at which death seemed so completely a falling asleep. He breathed his life away so gently that it was hard to tell that he was indeed gone. He died a few minutes before six this evening, full of hope and joy in his Saviour. He was clear in mind and conscious to within a short time of his departure. He knew me, though he was too weak to converse with me. Oh, what a privilege it is to have had such a father and to have enjoyed his love and confidence!

"The Church can never repay what it owes to him.

Had his spirit pervaded it, and his counsels been followed, we should be free from all that now agitates and distresses it."

He was buried in the beautiful cemetery of Gettysburg, which overlooks the field of the greatest and most decisive battle for the preservation of the Union.

The marble tablet which marks the spot bears the following inscription:

Proverbs x. 7, The memory of the just is blessed.

REV. CHAS. PH. KRAUTH, D.D.
born May 7, 1797,
entered the ministry June 7, 1819.
Pastor of the Evang. Lutheran Churches of
Martinsburg and Shepherdstown, Va.,
from 1819 to 1827.
Pastor of St. Matthew's, Philadelphia,
from 1827 to 1833.
First President of Pennsylvania College,
Gettysburg, Pa.,
from 1834 to 1850.
Professor in the
Evang. Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg,
from 1850 to 1867.
died May 30, 1867.
Erected by his pupils and friends.

SECOND CHAPTER.

CHILDHOOD. COLLEGE AND SEMINARY LIFE.

1823–1841.

Rev. Charles Philip Krauth, when pastor of the Lutheran Church in Martinsburg, Va., was married on December 7, 1820, to Miss Catharine Susan Heiskell, of Staunton, Va., a lady of English descent, belonging to a family of culture and prominence in Augusta County. There were two children of this marriage, Julia Heiskell, born October 21, 1821, who became the wife of Rev. O. A. Kinsolving, of Middleburg, Va., an Episcopal clergyman, and Charles Porterfield.

Charles Porterfield Krauth was born March 17, 1823, at Martinsburg, the county seat of Berkeley Co., Virginia. The house in which he was born is still standing. It was the Lutheran parsonage at that time, and is now occupied by Mrs. Sarah Helfersley, a most excellent Christian woman, who in her youth attended the catechetical instruction of Dr. Charles Philip Krauth. He was baptized by the Rev. A. Reck, May 24, 1823, his parents acting as sponsors. The name Porterfield he received from a brother of his mother, who, in later years, "through the failure of the Confederate Government to establish its independency," lost everything. In January, 1824, his mother died. She was buried in Martinsburg, and when in November, 1854, the new cemetery of that town was consecrated, her son, then President of the Synod of Virginia, made the address, and the incor-

porators tendered him a lot for the reception of the remains of his mother, whose ashes until then reposed in the old graveyard.

After the death of his mother Charles was taken to Staunton, Va., to live there with his grandmother, Mrs. Heiskell. Frequently in his after life he spoke of the Heiskells of Staunton as a large family of uncommonly fine-looking sons and daughters. Little Charles seems to have been much indulged in this delightful home. He had his own little pony on which he used to ride in company with his grandfather.

A year or two after his father had accepted the call to St. Matthew's congregation in Philadelphia, Charles was also taken to that city and given in charge of the Dull family, relatives of his father's mother. They resided at that time on Eleventh Street above Walnut, and later on in Marshall Street above Wood. Charles attended the school of a certain Mr. Jones on Chestnut Street. He was a child fond of play and full of mischief, but withal very lovable, not studious apparently, but always prepared with his lessons. He did not mix with other boys, and was very fond of reading. The house on Eleventh Street had a large garden with fine fruit trees in it, on which young Charles once played George Washington by cutting them with his hatchet. Thereupon his father sent him to his uncle in Montgomery County, where he might use his hatchet freely in the woods. He was so much in earnest with this occupation that one day he did not return to dinner, having forgotten it over his work as a wood-chopper. In Philadelphia he attended Sunday-school in St. Matthew's Lutheran Church. Referring to this time in an address to the City Missionary Society (October 12, 1864) he said: "It was always with mingled feelings of sadness and happiness that he occu-

pied the position of a speaker in St. Matthew's. Here he was a Sabbath-school scholar; here in St. Matthew's he had first become acquainted with Lutheranism, here it was that he received its first elements. St. Matthew's to him was a hallowed place. Many reminiscences of boyhood's happy hours came flitting through his brain, many memories both sad and joyful, and which time could never erase, memories of dear and now sainted friends" (*Lutheran and Missionary*, October 20, 1864.)

At the opening of the school-year on the third Thursday of October, 1831, being then in his ninth year, he was sent to Gettysburg, Pa., to enter as a student in the Gettysburg Gymnasium, in which he remained three years. The teachers in the Gymnasium at that time were Rev. Henry L. Baugher, in charge of the Classical department, Michael Jacobs, of the Mathematical and Scientific, and Dr. Ernest L. Hazelius who gave instruction in Latin and German. Three more admirable teachers it would be difficult to find in any institution. In the fall of 1832 Mr. Ernst T. H. Friederici became Principal of the Preparatory Department, though the former Instructors, now Professors in the College, continued as teachers. In October, 1833, William M. Reynolds became Principal, and Ezra Keller assistant teacher. These were the teachers of Charles P. Krauth before his entrance into college. Except Mr. Friederici, all of them became very eminent as teachers, and three of them were afterward presidents of colleges. He was a pupil of much promise, and he had admirable teachers.

In 1834 Rev. Dr. Charles Philip Krauth became first President of the Pennsylvania College, and entered on his duties in October. (See Dr. Beale M. Schmucker's "Memorial," p. 4.) On his removal to Gettysburg he was married to Miss Harriet Brown, a resident of that place,

and a home was again formed in which the son found kindliest care. On the occasion of the wedding Charles was present, and cried bitterly. Being asked for the cause of his tears, he replied that he had been told that he might as well be dead as have a stepmother. But he soon learned to think differently. The tender kindness of Mrs. Krauth won an affectionate regard from the son which was undisturbed to the close of his life.

At the same time that Dr. Charles Philip Krauth undertook the Presidency of Pennsylvania College his son entered the Freshman Class of that institution, going over its studies two years in succession, because of his extreme youth. From 1834 to 1839 he pursued the usual college course of study. His teachers during that period were Drs. C. P. Krauth, H. L. Baugher, M. Jacobs, William M. Reynolds, throughout the whole time, and Rev. J. H. Marsden, 1834-5, Herman Haupt, 1837-9, Dr. H. I. Schmidt, 1838-9, and David Gilbert, M.D., 1837-9. He was elected as a member of the Philomathean Society, November 25, 1834. How fully and enthusiastically he entered into the spirit of rivalry between the two Literary Societies, the Philomathean and the Phrenokosmean, may be seen from a reference to this time in a review of a sermon of Dr. S. Sprecher (see *Lutheran and Missionary*, January 8, 1861):

The first distinct impressions made upon our mind in boyhood of the power of human speech, the first unequivocal evidences of sympathy with eloquence, were created by S. Sprecher, then a fellow-student at Gettysburg. Amid the intense excitements of the two young societies, he was the champion of the one to which we belonged.

To be the debater for that society seemed to us to involve the height of responsibility. It was grand. We grew dizzy when we thought of it. To vanquish the

other debater, to glorify the White Rose, this was greater in our eyes than to cross the Rubicon, and overthrow the Republic. We counted all the Blue Roses as our adversaries. Oh! how we hated them—we made mouths at them when they were not looking that way, and we ground our teeth at the thought of them. We were too small to browbeat or bully them actually, for we were smaller than the smallest boy on the other side, but we compelled them to submit to every indignity—in imagination. We think we could have died for the White Rose. In these heated times, in the great debate on American Education, the Blue Rose was borne by one who became the first President of Wittenberg College; his antagonist was the gentleman who has followed him as the Second President of the same institution. We do not know what the Blue Roses thought in their hearts of that debate, but the White Roses were jubilant. The little ones could have worshipped their hero. His White Rose swelled in their eyes to the dimensions of a Victoria Regia, and his form was colossal. We felt that he was sublime, and that we were sublime in belonging to the same society. We would have attempted to thrash boys twice our size if they had dared to utter a doubt of the glorious triumph of our orator.

Rev. Dr. Charles A. Hay who was Charles Porterfield Krauth's room-mate and bedfellow for a year while the college building was being finished, in a letter to Dr. F. A. Muhlenberg, gives the following delineation of his character and life during the college years: " His cast of mind was metaphysical. He delighted in the English studies of the college course with the exception of mathematics, and in these easily distanced his seniors, some of whom numbered twice his years. He was a voracious reader, devouring with avidity almost everything that he could lay hands upon. Thus absorbed he became oblivious to the lapse of time and was frequently, we may

almost say, habitually negligent of the proper preparation for the regular recitations. This compelled him very frequently to recite 'from general knowledge' as the phrase goes, and at that he was an adept. His mind worked with amazing celerity, and his fund of general information, remarkably extensive in one so young, came in good stead to him in many such an emergency. The drudgery of routine work was always distasteful to him, and he had often in the recitation-room to be aroused from a reverie into which his poetic fancy had led him away, as into the dreamland where he loved to linger. With a keen sense of the ludicrous he seemed unable to resist the temptation to make sport of the unfortunate weaknesses and blunderings of the less active minds around him. The youngest in a large class, some of whom were unusually dull, he found abundant opportunity for the display of his lively wit, which, with all its native kindliness and playful geniality, was sometimes the reverse of welcome to those at whom it was aimed."

Rev. Dr. J. B. Bittinger, who entered the preparatory department in the same year in which Charles P. Krauth graduated, describes him as a college student in the following language: "When I first knew him, he was a poet, the poet of the college. He affected long locks, and they were not unbecoming his face or his rôle. It was under his influence and by his example, that Shakspere was first opened up to my young fancy. He was fond of declaiming it as he strode back and forth in his room, his slender figure drawn beyond its natural height by the college gown (?) in which it was draped. He was not athletic in build or tastes, but intellectual and social. He was fond of fun, but it was the pastime that played round the mind. He was an inveterate punster, for which his agility of mind and his wide reading well fitted him. His

humor was, much of it, of the rollicking sort, the kind by which strong men are not unfrequently found to relax and refresh themselves."

The local papers of Gettysburg opened their columns to the young poet as far back as 1834, when he was only eleven years old. At that time the Gettysburg *Star and Banner* published "A thought on Byron" (!) written by the young boy. In the same year a satirical poem in one hundred stanzas appeared in print entitled an "Evening Walk," a Hudibrastic poem; but at the demand of those satirized, all the copies of it were destroyed. As one who was known to "deal" in poetic articles, he was repeatedly requested to write a "New Year's Address" in behalf of the employés and newsboys of the Gettysburg local paper. Now and then special hints were given to the youthful author concerning the character of the desired article. Its "body" might be of his own fancy, "but there should be a little sprinkling at least, suitable to the times, such as Congress, Harrison, Clay, etc." From 1838 on, a number of poetical effusions from his pen appeared in the *Adams County Sentinel*, over the signature S. D. H., such as "Farewell," "The Vain Invocation," "A Lament," "Anthological Cullings," "Poets and Poetry." Besides these, many verses, belonging to the same period of his life, are preserved in manuscript.

The college boy also imposed upon himself the task of writing a journal which was, however, not very long continued. It was begun on December 3, 1839, with the following entries:

On this day I shall commence a regularly irregular journal of each and every thing which the propitious powers shall grant to this poor aching head, not that I would, as some fools, ape the illustrious men who have set the example of journalizing, but that I may occasionally

gratify myself by committing to paper the drifts of thought which ere long would otherwise be totally forgotten. If plain prose suits, welcome departed prosers. Should they become so exalted as to demand the rapturous strains of poesy,

> " Help me, ye muses,
> Whom every bardling now abuses,
> Who turning poet reason loses
> And steps from rhyme to—blacking shoeses."

December 5.—But let me drop this trifling, let me ask myself seriously, what am I doing? Truth would almost compel me to say, nothing. True, I am reading a little. But what? I am writing a little. Is it any better than the reading? I am studying less than all, but what I do get in that way is invaluable. How then is an immortal spirit, " a pilgrim of Eternity—an image of his God, the wonder of the world, the paragon of animals " sacrificing time, talents, and application!—God grant that I may be more mindful of my true interest and of Him.

His feelings toward the German language in those days are without reservation described in the journal January 6, 1840, in the following terms: " This afternoon I must plod to the Seminary and recite German. My feelings for that language are of a mingled nature. In the abstract I admire its great utility, its grandeur, its beauty, and the merits of its literature, but oh, how I hate it in reality! When I first began it, it was crammed into me by old Frederici (peace be to his ashes!) who was literally *'vox et præterea nihil.'* If it indeed should ever be inoculated into me, my feelings toward it will be like Byron's to Horace:

> " ' Then farewell Horace, whom I hated so
> Not for thy faults but mine; it is a curse
> To understand, not feel, thy lyric flow,
> To comprehend yet never love thy verse.' "

In the winter of 1836-37, under deep religious impressions, he joined the catechetical class, conducted by the pastor of the college church, Rev. Benjamin Keller, and being confirmed he decided to devote himself to the work of the holy ministry. His grandfather Heiskell, of Staunton, then over eighty years of age, wrote to him (July 24, 1837) with reference to this decision: "We were overjoyed to hear that God in His infinite mercy had been pleased to open your eyes, and had caused you to attend to the securing of your soul's eternal salvation, and that He had implanted in your bosom an ardent desire to proclaim the unsearchable riches of His grace and salvation to your fellow beings. It is our earnest prayer to God that your life may be spared, and that you may be a comfort to your parents, an ornament to society and an instrument of great good to your fellow-men, that through your instrumentality, many, many precious souls may be brought into the Kingdom, of such as shall be saved."

He entered the Theological Seminary in October, 1839, where Drs. S. S. Schmucker, C. P. Krauth, and H. I. Schmidt were his teachers. At the close of the two years' course then provided, he was graduated in September, 1841. During his seminary time he began to show a deeper interest in his studies, and to take a more serious view of the life-work for which he was preparing himself. This appears particularly from his correspondence with Mrs. Sarah Pearson, a daughter of Christian Schrack, member of St. Matthew's Church in Philadelphia, at the time of Dr. Charles Philip Krauth's pastorate, and a devoted friend of the family, to whose motherly care young Charles was indebted for "many acts of kindness beginning at the hydrantine ablutions, and stretching on to 'Anthon's Classical Dictionary' (the first very much

against his will, the last in exact accordance with it)." He writes to her under date of June 9, 1840:

I can imagine that you have been saying or at least thinking various pretty things in regard to your poor, unfortunate, forgetful correspondent: "The ungrateful little wretch; here I have been washing him when a child, scolding him when he was a boy, writing to him when he was a young man, and the good-for-nothing little cub does not even answer my letters, and such good letters, a great deal better than he deserved. Well I'll remember this." Are you sure that you wrote the last letter? Your last bears date—(I can't find it). I have entered on the duties of the session with more than usual activity, as I am beginning more and more to feel the painful consciousness that time and opportunity wait for no one. Deeply interested as I am in our studies, and highly important as they are to me as fitting me for active life, I am yet conscious that at times I do not study as I should, and there are frequent moments when carelessness or a fit of indolence overcomes every other consideration. Often when looking back on my past life, my squandered time, my neglected privileges, in the feeling of bitterness for the past I feel inclined to despair of the future. But I shall endeavor by the grace of God henceforward to let no moment slip unnoticed, no time misspent glide away, and by diligence to improve that which is to come, if I cannot recall the past. I hope that when I next visit Philadelphia you may have the pleasure of hearing from the pulpit the stripling whose hair you once combed, and anon, for his restlessness, boxed his ears.

We cannot close this chapter in a more fitting manner than by giving Charles Porterfield Krauth's own graphic account of his college days, written for the *Lutheran Observer* in Baltimore, about five years after he left Gettysburg, in a notice of the Catalogue of Pennsylvania College, showing a wonderfully mature mind in one so

young, and proving that with all his irregularities here and there, he at least had not altogether lost his college time.

COLLEGE DAYS.

(From the Lutheran Observer, September 11, 1846.)

It is with pleasure not unmingled with melancholy, that we receive the annual catalogues of the officers and students of Pennsylvania College. The happiness arising from the discovery of its continued prosperity awakened by their perusal, recalls our own connection with it as a student; and the remembrance of the scenes, the friendships, and the changes associated with that connection, has a tinge of natural regret, a mingling of joy and pain. In some form or other all that we most cherish is linked with this institution. The names of father, teachers, classmates, friends, cover a wide ground, and in the comparatively quiet, passionless, and eventless life of a man of letters or a clergyman embrace almost the whole charm of existence. We should be glad to be a boy again, if we could be a boy for our whole life,* but he has been singularly happy who would not be pained by the thought that he must pass once more over the points of transition from one period of life to another, or who does not shudder at the thought of enduring again the pains and perils of existence between youth and manhood.

Pennsylvania College has not had many changes among its professors, and to this fact in part may be attributed not only the extent, but the *solidity* of its prosperity. We are no friends of itinerancy either in the churches or in the colleges. It is perhaps well for a man to go when he has no more to give, but it would be better to collect exhaustless stores and remain for life.

When at the age of eight years we went to Gettysburg,

* Burke wished never to cease to be a boy. He thought, perhaps, that it was an humble wish—it was in fact an ambitious one, for he is mightiest among the true hearted, who can come as artlessly as a child and speak to the childlike in true men.—C. P. K. in *Missionary*, July 7, 1859.

the college was not yet in existence; the gymnasium out of which it was destined to rise, then supplied its place in part. We were taught the elements of German by the venerable Dr. Hazelius. The eccentric Frederici alternately fed us from his desk with oranges, confectionery, and "bull-eyes," furnished him by that popular caterer, Mr. Peter Sheetz, and roared us into a small knowledge and great detestation of "Cæsar's Commentaries." Professors Baugher and Jacobs alone remain the veterans of the first period of our acquaintance with the school, and Professor Reynolds forms the whole of a class representing the second.* Of course during this era there were no professorships in the proper sense of the word, and instruction was given by these gentlemen in the elements to boys, as well as in the higher branches to young men. With the instruction of boys, of course, was connected the use of the rod, and we can boast of honors from their hands which few can claim. We were switched through the Latin reader by the first, and feruled by the second into the multiplication table at the exact rate of one stroke for each mistake. Can we ever forget it? No! the remembrance yet occasions a slight tingling in the palm of the hand. Either we had grown too large to be flogged or Professor Reynolds had a younger humanity, for with a grateful recollection of his teachings, we have none of any whippings, and of them it is not likely we would be oblivious. To all to whom we have acknowledgments to make for favors of this kind we return our hearty thanks. We don't doubt we deserved them, but desert is so rarely crowned in this life with its appropriate reward, that a man should be thankful even for receiving his dues. We can regard the floggings now with a philosophy which it was hard to summon at the time.

"'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view."

We were very lazy, and yet industrious too—after our own fashion. We are entirely candid when we aver that

* Professor Baugher died April 14, 1868; Professor Jacobs, July 22, 1871, and Professor Reynolds, September 5, 1876.

had our school-books been the only ones in the world, we would have proved very exemplary students. We are sure that dislike of books would have been the most absurd supposition in accounting for our indolence. We were taught to read almost as soon as we could walk, and the love of reading became at once an intense and deep passion. But either the school-books did not furnish us with the right sort of aliment, or, what is probably more near the truth, did not furnish it with sufficient rapidity and ease. A boy with a restless and active mind is the most voracious of all animals; he devours a larger quantity and with greater rapidity than any bird, beast, or fish which naturalists yet know. His mind has molars and canine teeth; he grinds, he tears, he eats grass and flesh and mumbles bones which he cannot eat. He swallows rusty nails like an ostrich, and oysters in the shells like some bird of which Dr. Morris tells. This ravenous animal whose appetite, like any other that is keen, looks rather to quantity than quality, is set down with a Latin or Greek book before him, where, by the aid of a dictionary and grammar, with the occasional quickener of a lost dinner or a sound thrashing, he is to pick out such precious morsels of information as "bonus homo," a good man, "niger canis," black dog, "magnus bos," big ox, or at a higher stage of advancement those interesting fragments of natural history, "white black birds are found in some countries," "oysters and onions grow greater or less with the waxing or waning moon," or titbits of morality, as "drunkenness is short madness," or of wit, as where the "scolasticos," the Greek Irishman, carries a brick as a specimen of his house, or dodges his doctor to escape his wrath for having kept well so long. It is as hopeless as would be the effort to catch some of these "white black birds," by putting fresh salt on their tails, or to find fat oysters and onions under a lean moon, to expect that under these circumstances the boy will stick to his Latin and Greek, and leave untouched such fascinating books as "Robinson Crusoe," "Sindbad the

Sailor," and " Jack the Giant Killer," which come to him in his own tongue. He who does it from inclination is an astounding ass; the boy who does it because he is told to do so, is an astonishing boy, and when we see him, about which we are far from being sanguine, we will recommend the discoverer of the prodigy, himself a prodigy, to set out on an exploring expedition armed with a pop-gun, to shoot black swans and other rare birds in the world.

When the pupil has reached a higher stage it is time he reads portions of the classics, but still the work is laborious and slow, compared with the process by which he becomes familiar with the great standard authors of his own tongue. To attempt to satisfy his wants *exclusively* in this way, is as tantalizing as for a famishing man to sit down with a hammer, a pointed nail, a flat-iron, and a basket of hard-shelled hickory nuts to make his dinner.

We do not use an ordinary cant in saying that we are a profound admirer of the Classics. We consider it entirely improbable that they will ever be superseded as the great means for mental discipline and the cultivation of the taste. No one can be more ready to admit the much that they contain; but they do not contain all, and it is absurd to expect the student to confine himself to them as though they did. It would be absurd to do it, if it could be done, but the attempt has an additional absurdity from its being impossible.

We may read Livy, but we know that there is a " Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," worth reading also. We are not expected to believe that Tacitus can supply the place of Hume's " History of England." Sophocles did not write " Macbeth," nor Euripides " Hamlet," nor Æschylus " Sampson Agonistes," " Manfred " or " Cain," nor Aristophanes " The Merry Wives of Windsor," or " The School for Scandal." Plato re-lives in Bentham, and the acuteness of Aristotle in Edwards— Burke is our Cicero and Pitt our Demosthenes, if the rage of party will scarce permit us to name their equals

on our own soil. Juvenal glows again in Dryden, Horace in Pope, Persius in Churchill. Hemans is sweeter than Sappho, and antiquity cannot boast a Joanna Baillie, a Hannah More, or an Edgeworth. It is Moore's glory and reproach to be another Catullus; Thomson sings nobler metamorphoses than those of Ovid, in strains as sweet. Chaucer comes down to us as venerable as Ennius or the Ciceronian page, but less fretted by time. "The Choice of Hercules" is but a feeble allegory to the "Fairy Queen." Northcote has not walked without success in the footsteps of Æsop and Phædrus, and Scott has sung battle songs more thrilling than the Pharsaliæ, and carried to its highest perfection in his novels an art of which in its great and comprehensive character the ancients knew nothing, and to close with the brightest names in either constellation, Milton is Hesiod, Homer and Virgil in one—nay more than all, he is MILTON.

In a word, to what orators, statesmen, poets, dramatists, biographers, annalists, and historians, writers on taste and the arts, theologians, preachers, wits, metaphysicians, essayists, novelists, naturalists, and moralists, are we not introduced by the literature of our language? Whatever may be the taste of a young man, he finds in English richest and most varied food. How natural is it for him to reason like Gibbon, when he was a boy, after reading a number of translations: "The cheap acquisition of so much knowledge confirmed my dislike to the study of languages, and I argued that, were I master of Greek and Latin, extempore versions must be inferior to the elaborate translation of professed scholars;" a silly sophism which could not easily be confuted by a person ignorant of any other language than his own. The system which permits him unguided and unrestrained to wander among books at his will may prove injurious, but not more certainly so than one which either completely debars him from them, or does not allow him to devote to them the proportion of time and attention which is their due. In the former case he may be sent forth in the

condition in which the great English historian arrived at Oxford, "having with him a stock of erudition which would have puzzled a doctor, and a degree of ignorance of which a schoolboy would have been ashamed." If he be unduly curbed on the other hand, the pernicious sophism acquires additional power, and he is glad to bid farewell to the classics, "which he hated so, not for their fault but his." The young man who never knows his lessons while at college, bids fair to prove indolent and useless throughout his life. The young man who knows nothing more, will go forth only to swell the overwhelming torrent of ridicule already directed against learned ignorance. His mind is not like the stream refreshing and winding as it goes, but like a straw in one of its eddies, which is whirled round and round, and turned up and down, and is at last cast upon the shore.

My teachers, I believe, were most judiciously lenient. When they found that some young man who broke their hearts regularly, was after all engaged about something, he was regarded with different eyes. There is a generation of collegians who pass the hours of idleness which they snatch from study, in sleep or roguery. They steal pies, rob hen-roosts, hold midnight revels, roll hot grape-shot along the passages, drop stones from the fourth story, pelt cats, burn their eyebrows off with gunpowder, crawl in at windows, and pry into forbidden records, invert plates of butter on the heads of the servants, or artfully throw them against the wall, so as to leave them sticking there, horrify the steward, exacerbate all accessible dogs and pigs, and are a torment to themselves and all around them. The other class that bear the same generic title, and are reputed as lazy men, read now and then a heavy history—dip into some hard books and read a little of everything they can lay hold of—they perhaps write a tale and plan a tragedy or satirize good-naturedly, in long poems, their companions. They can hardly compass means sufficient for the purchase of writing paper, their text-books have their leaves scribbled over, and the

covers of all magazines are brought into requisition; the editors of the village papers are besieged with contributions from unknown hands, whilst their authors, ostrich-like with their heads stuck in the sand, imagine they are unseen, and that their severe incognito, to which not more than twelve are privy, is preserved.

When they get out into the world they know better, and make humble and penitential confessions, they thank the friends who shook their heads and predicted that they would be hung before they came of age, they thank their friends who kicked and cuffed and cudgelled them to make angels of them. They know that all these things were useful in their place. The predictions, perhaps unlike most of their class, tended to prevent their own fulfilment, and as for the other little delicate attentions, youth is the time to receive them, as men are too likely to return a quid for a quo in such cases, and the moral benefit is lost.

But to speak in a more serious tone in concluding this long piece of chit-chat—the man who does not cherish with deep and grateful reverence those who labored to give the first true impress to his mind and heart, who thinks that the scanty fees paid for his instruction liquidate his debt, thinks truly. They do liquidate it, for he has learned nothing. But he who thinks that the foundations of respectability and usefulness were laid, and that higher aspirations and a better nature began beneath their teachings to unfold their ways, knows that he rests under a debt which he can never repay. There is no claim which our foster mother can present which we should not honor. Long live the band of faithful and devoted men who are her ministers. May the successive generations of their intellectual children go forth to honor their instructors, by proving that they not only heard their words, but marked their lives. Far distant be the day when the first of them shall fall! Two classmates sleep in the grave. Which of their revered instructors and ours shall they first meet in the spirit land?

THIRD CHAPTER.

BEGINNING IN CANTON.

1841–1842.

At the meeting of the Synod of Maryland, in October, 1841, at Hagerstown, Charles Porterfield Krauth was, after examination, " licensed to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ and administer the sacraments according to the forms of the Lutheran Church for one year from this date (October 18), wherever the Head of the Church, Jesus Christ, may call him to labor." The certificate of his licensure is signed by John P. Cline, President, and S. W. Harkey, Secretary of the Maryland Synod. A few weeks before, the young candidate for the ministry, not yet nineteen years old, had taken charge of " The Congregational Church in Canton, adjoining Baltimore." This is the name given to that mission in the *Lutheran Observer*, of December 3, 1841. The field had been selected for him by Rev. Dr. J. G. Morris, of Baltimore, the warm friend of his father, who from the very beginning took the deepest interest in this gifted son of an illustrious sire, and had at that time already formed a correct estimate of the talents and the future position of his young protégé. The work at Canton was never promising, and yet the year which he spent there was a very profitable one in developing his own character and his usefulness in the Kingdom of God. Here the young poet was for the first

time brought into close contact with the realities of life and the great responsibilities of his sacred office, and while the former love of fun and his keen sense of the ludicrous were by no means extinguished, yet he was overawed by the solemnity of the work committed to his trust. His fondness for books and quiet study at the same time began to develop itself all the more strongly, as the practical work of the pastor and missionary in Canton left him plenty of time for systematic, persevering private study, which he began there to take up with a real enthusiasm and craving for knowledge. After nine months of arduous work his health began to fail, and he placed his resignation in the hands of the Secretary of the Congregational Society. He left Canton finally on June 26, 1842, and took a trip to Alexandria, from which place he was to take his sister Julia to Gettysburg.

The letters and extracts from his journal, which are given in the following pages, explain themselves and present a full picture of this short but interesting period of his life.

DR. J. G. MORRIS TO DR. CHAS. PHILIP KRAUTH.

York, August 2, 1841.

Canton is a suburban appendage to our city, and is situated below the Point, just where the Philadelphia cars take the engine. The grounds belong to a company of New Englanders, who expect in time to see a large city built upon them, but that will not occur in this generation. I would judge the population to number about seventy-five families, but its contiguity to the Point renders it of easy access, and in twenty minutes an immense crowd could be collected. The agent of the company is a pious Yankee, who resolved, about a year ago, to establish public worship, and prevailed on the directors to erect a small, a very small, meeting house. This he placed

at my disposal, so far as the preaching was concerned, and Bachmann filled the pulpit during the winter. The attendance was good, the Sunday-school flourishing, and everything promised pretty well. Since Bachmann has gone, things have somewhat relapsed. They have now applied to me to procure a permanent resident pastor, whom they promise to support *at least*, although the incumbent could not expect much. The congregation would not be Lutheran in the beginning, it would be a bare missionary field, and of course none of our distinctive peculiarities could be held prominently forth at the beginning. The duties would be to preach once, *perhaps twice*, on Sunday and to attend the Sunday-school; all the rest of the week the minister would have to himself. The people are not generally intelligent, many of them very ordinary, and none particularly refined. Plain, common-sense sermons would suit them best. The field for usefulness is great, and a better school for a young man I do not know. The agent tells me, he has no doubt but the company will build a larger house of worship, if the minister shall succeed in bringing out the people. It would require visiting for a while, hunting them up, and looking about for recruits. It would demand considerable industry in out-of-door operations, for the first two months, and success would attend the enterprise. He would have a few energetic men to stand by him, teach the school and superintend everything else. He would have several of our ministers to relieve him and advise him always. The place is like a receiving ship where raw recruits are exercised in naval tactics and prepared for more important posts. I want Charles to be kept near one of our prominent stations, and not to be sent into the forest, where he would perhaps become entangled, and it would be hard to extricate him when wanted. Now, give your consent to a trial, it would be an easy berth, and he is abundantly competent for it. He would board in a genteel family and have good opportunities for pursuing his studies.

C. P. K. TO MRS. SARAH PEARSON (probably written in September).

Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg.
Thursday night, 1841.

Next week I shall start for Canton, which forms a part of Baltimore. I shall be there perhaps for a year or more, but possibly not for more than a few months. The situation will be a pleasant one, far more in consonance with my feelings than teaching the elementary branches to children. I shall also there have an opportunity of attending the medical lectures, of which privilege you are aware I was so desirous. I shall board with Mr. Rice, who is secretary of the company whose property Canton principally is. Mr. Morris represents the family as a very pleasant one. My labors will not be heavy. My opportunities for mental improvement will be great. At the worst I shall not be obliged to remain with them, after I either become tired of them, or they of me. There is not a Lutheran congregation there. The inhabitants are principally New Englanders. My salary will be small, perhaps exceedingly small, but to me that is not a matter of vital moment. My wants are few, my expenses small. I shall therefore enter into the work without feeling even a momentary apprehension that the Father of all mercies will desert me in the hour of need. I shall have the support and counsel of those clergymen of our Church who reside in Baltimore, and my nearness to home is an item not to be forgotten. So viewing the matter on all sides I may consider myself very fortunate.

JOURNAL OF MY MINISTERIAL ACTS AT CANTON FOR A.D. 1841 AND 1842.

September 26, 1841. This day I preached for the first time to a respectable though small congregation. I chose the words "Man doth not live by bread alone," etc. Matth. iv. 4. I spoke from the same words at night in Mr. Morris' church.

October 19. With several other neophytes I received license to preach the everlasting Gospel of my Saviour.

October 21. I returned to Canton which lies on the outskirts of Baltimore. Under this name are included the various lands and other property of a company consisting mainly of northern capitalists and whose most respectable inhabitants are mostly New Englanders.

A large portion of the inhabitants are, however, from the very dregs of the city. The number of inhabitants within a distance presenting no reasonable obstacle to their attendance on my preaching, is perhaps two hundred and fifty, yet even of this comparatively small number only a small minority are attendants on divine worship, and of the twenty or twenty-five who attend the chapel, but one man makes a profession of religion. He, together with two or three pious ladies and myself, are the forces with which the Lord has seen proper to take field against Satan in this place, "not by might, not by power, but by My spirit" is the gracious declaration that He has made of His mode of operation. In Him then we will trust, may He, as He has often done, conquer the mighty by the weak, and by the little leaven impenetrate and modify the whole lump.

October 24. I baptized N. N. I felt a peculiar solemnity in the performance of this function of my ministry, in spite of the filth and confusion of the room in which it was performed.

October 31. The Sunday-school numbers about twenty-five to-day, having nearly doubled its number since the Sabbath I came. There are now three female and three male teachers, including myself.

November 3. Held our first prayer-meeting after some opposition, and a great deal of coldness on the part of those who are considered the supporters of the church here, most of whom, however, make no pretensions to religion. With it I have connected a Bible Class. The number of attendants was neither encouraging nor discouraging. May the Lord be with us in this meeting, for what are His people without prayer!

November 4. I devote every afternoon to visiting. Go to a house at which I have never been. Tap, tap, tap. Enter a dirty woman, a litter of puppies, three dirty children, like the king and the two fiddlers in the play, *Solus.* "What do you want?" "I am the preacher, ma'am, I preach in the little white church over here." "Yes, sir." "I guess, ma'am, I'll walk in and take a seat." "Well, I guess you can. Run, Tommy, empty the wash water out of the big tub, and turn it up for the gentleman to sit on, and put a bone on the fire and blow it up clare." "Ain't no bone, mammie, pup run off with it; hoop's off the big tub. The gentleman will get spilled if he sits on it."

By this time I had made my way into the room that combines in itself the various characters of dining-room, drawing-room, kitchen, wood-house, ash-hole, dirt-box, sleeping-room, nursery, and parlor. A bedstead without a bed, a hearth with but a single coal, the half of a wood-cut once occupying the head of a circus placard pasted over the mantel-piece, a handful of the leaves of a worm-eaten and dust-covered Bible—a table with two whole legs, with one broken one, and with another one not there, a triangular piece of looking-glass fixed over it with two tacks and a piece of shoemakers' wax, the bowl and part of the stem of a common tobacco pipe, and one solitary skillet, with the same number of feet as Adonic verse, constituted the furniture.

As a foreground to this picture let me present to your notice the foresaid mother, children, puppies, and pulices irritantes (which last animated little beings, however, no living author but Combe could properly develop or bring into full view). Then in the farthest corner with a brow as dark metaphorically, as dirt had rendered it literally, stood the oldest daughter over that very tub, whose contents, the representations of Tommy in regard to the unsoundness of the vessel, had for a time spared. The chair on which it stood had three legs, and the place of the fourth was supplied by the knee of the young lady, to whom, if I mistake not, the mother applied the romantic

title of Punkinblosoma, or some other of about the same length and equally euphonious. Her red arms, bare to the shoulder, gave support and motion to a tremendous pair of hands, which with firm grasp had seized on the lower extremity of a solitary little shirt, which floated " alone, alone upon the wide, wide sea " of soapsuds. Before I had completed the rapid survey which I have detailed, one of the children had crawled under the bed, and now, giving a loud yell of triumph, next moment came forth in clouds of feathers and fine dust, holding vigorously to the hinder leg of that animal so hated by Jews, so cherished by the sons of green Erin. Oh what a scene then took place! " Ye devil's brat ye! lit go of Tony," screamed the mother. " Bate him, Billy—pull him Billy boy—give it to him—twitch his little tail," roared the young ones, who fairly kicked in ecstasies of delight as Tony ran here and there, dragging the boy after him, squealing such agonizing notes, tearing every nerve.

Glad to escape from this scene, and satisfied that for the present I could do nothing, I made a hasty retreat.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

Canton, October 8, 1841.

After asking for the German Testament and a Hebrew dictionary, a Liturgy of our Church, a French dictionary, and Rosenmüller's Scholia on Genesis, he continues his letter as follows:

I am still pleased with my situation here, though I see that it will not be without its peculiar difficulties, and even perhaps, trials. There is not to my knowledge one Lutheran in the congregation, and although I have no reason to think the people bigoted, I yet anticipated some difficulty from the diversity of opinion which exists among them. There are some few Universalists, and as it is the wish of those by whose influence I am brought here that they should be conciliated, and as silence in regard to the points on which they are in error cannot for a

moment be thought of, I am not without apprehension of giving offence. I find, too, that already has misrepresentation been at work. I could hear with patience that this man had declared I was a Methodist, and that old woman that I was a Presbyterian, that Mr. John Smith was sure I was a Baptist, or even that Mrs. Jones knew from the looks of me that I was a "Papish," but I was, I must confess, totally unprepared to be told that Mr. Somebody had it from my own lips, that I was a Universalist. I trust that if anybody credited so silly a story, next Sabbath's sermons will show them their mistake.

I find, too, that every step shows me more and more my lamentable ignorance. I find there is some difference between preaching and declaiming moral essays before the Theological Society—between the difficulties of the student and the *man*, for so I trust I may now call myself, since I have been deemed worthy of active service in the vineyard of the Lord.

Yet there is a delightful feeling of independence—of freedom from leading strings, that more than repays for the increased difficulty. I have not entered on life with those delightful exaggerated views of happiness that enter into the prospects of young men generally. I would, if it were possible, shrink from the brunt of that contest through which he that would be useful must pass, content to pass my life amongst books and in comparative solitude—I mean that I could thus be happy, were it consistent with the great law of love, and those duties which our heavenly Father renders necessary to him who designs to shine as a star in the firmament of heaven forever.

I cannot feel sufficiently grateful for the kindness shown me by Dr. and Mrs. Morris. Dr. Morris has offered me the use of his library, and has shown me every kindness in his power. I shall go on to Synod next Friday in company with Dr. Morris.

I have been studying as well as I could with the few books I brought with me. In the morning I study one

chapter in the Hebrew Bible, reading in connection with it the Septuagint, and referring occasionally to the Vulgate, parsing carefully as I go along, and studying Bush's "Questions and Notes," and referring to Robinson's Calmet whenever I suppose that it will throw any light on the matter. This, with the study of Porter's Homiletics, and a careful perusal of a part of Miller on clerical manners is as much as I find time to do in the morning with my books. In the subsequent part of the day I study one chapter of the New Testament in the original with Rosenmüller's Scholia. Besides this I have been reviewing Schmucker's Popular Theology. All these, with the preparation of sermons, letter writing, reading, and pastoral duties leave me not one moment that I cannot profitably fill.

DR CHARLES PHILIP KRAUTH TO C. P. K.

Gettysburg, October 12, 1841.

In regard to your situation it will devolve on you to be faithful, and on no account to compromise the truth. If you cannot be comfortable where you are, you can at any time withdraw. You should make good use of your time, and prepare yourself for extensive usefulness. It will be best for you not to preach too often, and to avoid preaching in a large church. You ought, by all means, to avoid preaching without careful preparation. Whilst you should make it your aim to become a good extemporaneous preacher, you should write as much as you can, and acquire the habit of committing sermons, and thus fit yourself for efforts when you cannot write. Make a primary study—the Bible. Your plan of reading the Hebrew in connection with the Septuagint and the Vulgate is a good one. By all means I would aim to be familiar with the Scriptures in the original. This will be easy for you, if you persevere in study. If you desire to become extensively acquainted with the best theological works you should cultivate the German language. Begin to read books in it and you will soon read it with ease.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

Canton, November 2, 1841.

I have delayed writing for some days, not because my heart is not always with you, but because for the last week I have been suffering under a complete prostration of muscular vigor and mental activity, more painful and depressive than the severest acute disease. I ascribe it principally to my close confinement during the day by my studies, and my carelessness in regard to my diet.

I believe that I passed through college with the unenviable reputation (and deservedly) of being a lazy fellow. With my present feelings, could I retract those steps, I believe that my course would be far different. I have found a love of study, close protracted study, gradually becoming an absorbing feeling with which not even my love of desultory reading appears to interfere, and from which I feel unwilling to take even the time necessary for exercise. I have now begun to be careful about exercise and diet, and already feel as much better as the shortness of time of my stricter régime will allow.

I presume that the *Lutheran Observer* and the professors have left me very little to tell of the meeting of Synod. If it is to be considered as a fair specimen of the interest and importance of Synodical meetings, I shall ever regard it as one of the most delightful as well as important duties to attend Synod. Of our examination before Synod I will only say, that although I was both disappointed and mortified at what I considered as rather palpable proofs of ignorance, I have been assured by Mr. M., who is not used to the flattering mood, that our examination was highly satisfactory. William Eyster and I stayed at the house of Colonel Bear, by whom we were received and treated with the utmost kindness.

I was obliged to you for sending the articles according to my request, though the one for which I was most anxious happened to be among the "one or two exceptions," I mean Rosenmüller's Scholia. Between Bush

and Grotius, whom I read *verbatim et literatim et punctatim*, I perhaps even now get more than I can well retain. So I suppose that I might as well fall in contentedly with your refusal of Rosenmüller. I like the Scholia of the elder Rosenmüller very well, though I sometimes think that he is an illustration of the proverb, "The half is better than the whole." Not that I would be unwilling to read as much or twice as much as he has written, but then I would wish it all to be to the purpose. I purchased a blank-book yesterday and have made myself an "Index Rerum" on Todd's plan. I have felt the need of one for some time, and thought that the state of my finances would not allow me to purchase one, so that between the centripetal and centrifugal forces of poverty and inclination I described an ellipsis, and made one myself. I think if my respected Professor Jacobs could hear my last illustration he would be inclined to think that I am not such an incorrigible blockhead in the mathematical sciences as he has doubtless always considered me.

In accordance with the desires of my friends in Canton I preached twice on last Sabbath a week, but was so much exhausted thereby that I shall not, if I can help it, do so again until my health is perfectly restored. I am endeavoring to follow your advice in regard to sermonizing and in the other departments of clerical attainments. At the risk of imitating blind leaders of the blind I have been giving a few lessons in the rudiments of German to Mr. Rice, who is anxious to acquire the language.

My difficulties at Canton are peculiar, and I sometimes feel a little despondency. I have here little of the society to which I have been used, and as I rarely get up to Dr. Morris I often feel the want of sympathy, or whatever you may call it. I scarcely know what to say of the prospects of usefulness here. I am very certain that in many respects I am not the proper person to build up a church out of the materials we have here. I sometimes have distressing doubts as to my ultimate usefulness in the ministry; and here, though my difficulties have not been

greater than I anticipated, yet again and again could I have shed the tears of wounded feeling. It is in such hours as these that I feel most deeply the holy realities of our glorious faith, and often after fervent and protracted prayer I find my feelings soothed and my spirits again revived. Trusting in that God in whom those who confide shall never be forsaken, I shall persevere, hoping that whatever errors of judgment I may commit, I may at least feel some consolation in view of good intentions.

Next week I shall begin a Bible class and prayer meeting, which I trust may eventuate in good. We need a revival here; there seems to be a sad state of apathy and coldness among the people. Some of the warmest supporters of the church in Canton are men who seem to be sensible of the importance of religion to every one except themselves, and some in my pastoral district are grossly and openly immoral.

When I first came the place was very unhealthy, but since the commencement of cooler weather the health of the people is better.

I have gone contrary to your advice in regard to purchasing books so far as to buy Miller on "clerical manners." I have as yet received no portion of my salary, so that, in spite of economy, my funds are reduced to a very low point.

Please write longer letters. Everything from home will interest me. I shall be thankful, too, for any advice you may give me in regard to my studies and deportment.

DR. J. G. MORRIS TO DR. CHAS. PHIL. KRAUTH.

(After the meeting of the Maryland Synod.)

Baltimore, November 3, 1841.

I expected to see you at our Synod but did not. Charles was also sorely disappointed. I suppose you hear of your boy occasionally. Well, he will not say what I feel constrained to say, and that is, that a smarter chap you will not meet in a month of Saturdays. I like him ex-

ceedingly, and regard him as *the* most promising youth in the whole corps ministerial. I think he will make one of the most attractive and effective speakers also—yea a first-rate orator. He is succeeding as well as I expected. He cannot expect to have large audiences—it is an uncultivated field, but a good school for him; he has all his time to study, and is entirely uninterrupted. I must freely say that I do not expect much of the place, little prospect of building up a Lutheran Church, but, as I said, a good school for a beginner to practise in.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

February 14, 1842.

I have entered with all my might into the study of German—reading Niemeyer (Aug. Herm. Niemeyer's Characteristiken der Bibel), translating English into German, turning one of my own sermons into German, and with all the unreflecting ardor of a boy already meditating a letter to you and one to my former kind preceptor Professor Schmidt—which, if they be not German, I will at least give my word for it shall not be English. I cannot tell when I shall visit you. It shall certainly be as soon as I can leave Canton. I feel anxious to visit home, I feel as if I needed something or other to keep my feelings from stagnation.

I don't think that I have lost any of my fondness for the investigation of the original languages of the Scriptures, but my progress would perhaps be sneered at by those who would wish to do all things at a jump. In my regular Hebrew reading I have reached the fortieth chapter of Genesis, reading all of Rosenmüller in connection. I think that I could with pleasure make a thorough and critical knowledge of Hebrew one of the great pursuits of my life. My interest in it is far more intense than that which I entertain for the Greek. In the New Testament I have read Matthew from where we left it in the Seminary, then Galatians, a part of 1 Corinthians, and I am at present at the sixth chapter of John.

I have been guilty of the folly of purchasing some valuable books which I got very low at auction, but which I did not positively need. I think I can safely say that I shall not soon do so again.

It is impossible to get Gesenius in the city; I should certainly purchase it if it were. I am pleased with your idea in regard to commentaries. I often found it intolerably tedious to read comments on what needed no comment, and to study reflections which I could have made equally well for myself. I am very much pleased with the books you have selected, and do not think that they could have been more to my mind had I been there to select for myself. I am sorry that Tillotson's sermons cannot be sent, as I should like to have them very much.

Mr. Morris has requested me to furnish two poetical articles for the *Annual*. He could have asked nothing less to my taste. Verse writing is with me a folly of the past, indeed I hope that my views on a subject of this kind are more truthful than they once were.

We are making no headway at Canton. There seems to be a dead calm, and the whole mind of my people is stagnant on the subject of religion. Yet I think that my own views are becoming deeper, clearer, and more operative, and doubts inspired by the perusal of works of a sceptical tendency have entirely disappeared under a calm and thorough investigation of the grounds of evidence for the divinity of the Scriptures, and the reality of the fundamental doctrines.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

April 18, 1842.

I am very busy at Canton, though I accomplish comparatively little. My health is improving very much, and my situation is becoming more and more pleasant. There is still, however, a difficulty about the salary and I am at present without enough money to buy a pair of shoes which I need.

Yesterday I finished a careful study of Butler's Anal-

ogy, and to-day I begin to read Chalmers' sermons on the "Depravity of the Human Nature." I read a chapter in the original in the New Testament every day, together with Barnes' notes on the chapter. Have you no good commentary which you could spare? I have nothing on the Old Testament except verbal criticism, Grotius, Rosenmüller, etc., and nothing on the New Testament except Barnes. I try to make as good use as I can of what I have, but on some very interesting subjects I have nothing. I have read, for instance, "Hare on Prophecy" lately. I feel very much interested in the subject, but his book is all I have on that subject, so that I am at a stand. I would like to have Hengstenberg, but cannot afford to buy it.

C. P. K. TO MRS. SARAH PEARSON.

Baltimore, April 18, 1842.

I am getting on slowly, working a good deal but apparently accomplishing nothing. My health, however, is slowly improving. You and the dear friends beneath the same roof with you must not forget me in your addresses to the Throne of Grace. I am a weak, inexperienced boy, engaged in the solemn, the awful, momentous duties of an office which angels might tremble to accept. I think of you all often, sometimes with tears holy to the memory of the past. How unworthy I ofttimes feel of such friends, to whom I can make no return but the purest affection of a heart so wayward that its best offerings are not worth acceptance. Blessed Saviour, whose love can transform the whole inner man and shed joy over the mourning and pour light upon the darkened! Happy repentance needing not to be repented of, whose hour, whose place, whose every circumstance is embalmed in the dearest, tenderest, holiest recollections of the Christian! The conviction that we have repented, that we have undergone that real vital conversion which places us at friendship with the author of our being, lightens every sorrow, brightens every prospect, gives peace in the hour

of death; and at the last day, amid the crash of worlds and the destruction of the material universe, the spark of celestial immortality that was first kindled in repentance, will emerge from the darkness of the sepulchre and shine forever in the new heavens and new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.

THE FATHER TO C. P. K.

April 30, 1842.

I would lay myself out, in the study of the Scriptures, which, of course, must be your main study, not to depend much on commentaries, but to read the original with good lexicons. Robinson's Gesenius and his New Testament Dictionary you ought to have, these with your Bible in the original, and the two leading ancient versions, the Septuagint and the Vulgate, will enable you to advance rapidly in the knowledge of the Bible. I may say I have thrown practical commentaries out of my library. I have owned Henry but not used it for some years. Such books may be looked at occasionally, but they do not satisfy. What is most valuable in them, indeed very valuable, is what suggests itself to every cultivated mind that is imbued with the spirit of piety.

You will find a Chaldee Grammar in the box. You can easily make yourself sufficiently acquainted with that language to read what is written in it in the Old Testament, and to understand quotations from the Targums, of which Rosenmüller has so many in some parts of his Scholia.

C. P. K. TO MRS. CHAS. PHIL. KRAUTH.

Canton, May 9, 1842.

I trust that you know me too well to suppose from the rarity of my letters that you are not often in my thoughts. I think I can safely say that not a single day passes, on which I do not think of you and remember with constant gratitude the kindness for which I have ever been so

much indebted to you. But you know my time is not now my own as it once was, the most sacred duties are resting upon me, and many moments which I might once consider in a certain sense my own, now of right belong to Him to the promotion of whose glory every effort is to be directed and every moment sanctified. Dear, dear home, how my thoughts love to go back to it, and oft-times for a while in imagination I am with you.

From my window there is a fine view and ever-changing scene, the restless waves and passing vessels, and then far-off hill and forest wildwood and cultivated land make altogether a picture which never becomes monotonous; yet would I gladly exchange it for my college window opening on an extensive prospect of woodpiles, diversified and enlivened only by the occasional trips of the students and the colored boy to the pump. Baltimore is a delightful city, but it is not home for all that. Sights and busy sounds and the whirl and confusion of a great city are but a poor exchange for the happiness of retired and domestic life. Give me Gettysburg before all the world that has fallen under my eye.

My congregation at Canton does not increase rapidly, nor indeed is there the material here for a congregation. There are perhaps one hundred and fifty or two hundred from whom the church is at a convenient distance, including all men, women, children, and infants. Of these some attend on the Point, some cannot be persuaded to attend anywhere, some are drunken and worthless creatures, so that after having gathered in all the material that can be worked upon, there are not a dozen families to whom we can reasonably look for support. The project is untenable, in this present form almost foolish, and I entertain no doubt whatever, that in another sphere I might be incalculably more useful. If the representations made to me by some in regard to the unhealthiness of the place should be at all realized I shall not be able to stay; but I think they are exaggerated. It is undoubtedly fever-and-ague-ish.

C. P. K. TO MRS. PEARSON.

Gettysburg, August 3, 1842.

Believe me that I feel sincerely gratified for the kind wishes which your letter assures me were entertained for my success at Canton by yourself and others of my most valued friends. I have now left that scene of labor. The final results of my connection with that people, who have become incalculably dear to me, and from whom only rigorous necessity caused a separation, are to be untold until the day of judgment shall reveal all secrets. Yet I believe that my prayers, my labors, and my tears are recorded, and that their blood will not be upon my skirts if they perish, even if those to whose souls I fondly hope that God made me the instrument of salvation, should forget "the guide of their youth and the covenant of their God." If the experience of the last nine months has made me a sadder, I trust that it has also made me a wiser man. Henceforth I can labor to more purpose in the kingdom of the most high God.

I have twice preached in G. against my will. Here I cannot preach, for old associations hamper, strangle, and unman me. I tried to preach the pure truth in a simple way but I felt dissatisfied, almost vexed. People here are uncharitable, and a young man will think of these things. I have enjoyed my visit to G. very much, that is to say, I have found some valuable books, in the study of which my mind has been interestingly occupied from morning to night.

FOURTH CHAPTER.

PASTORATE IN BALTIMORE.

1842–1847.

In September, 1842, after the rest and recreation of the summer months, Charles P. Krauth returned to Baltimore, much strengthened and refreshed, to take charge of the Second English Lutheran Church, commonly called the Lombard Street church, which was consecrated just about that time. His call, however, had only been for the limited period of six months, at a salary of one hundred dollars. On March 26, 1843, this limit expired, but on account of a protracted meeting which was at that time going on in the congregation, the election of a pastor was somewhat delayed. On Monday, June 5, 1843, the constitutional election was held, and he was unanimously re-elected as pastor of the congregation. It appears that a provision in the constitution of that congregation called for an election or re-election of the pastor at each annual election for officers.

"During the four years of his pastorate in this church he attained a brilliant reputation as a preacher. His imagination was capable of lofty and sustained flights, his literary taste and culture were exquisite, his dramatic powers were of a high order, his mind in all its faculties was intensely active and quick in its movements, and these qualifications of intellect and culture were enkindled, controlled, and used by fervent devotion to the spiritual work of his office. Sincere spiritual earnestness

was so transparently evident that no doubt of it was raised. Large crowds gathered in attendance on the services of the church." (B. M. Schmucker, D.D., "Memorial," p. 6.)

His venerable father, who watched the development of his promising son with the deepest interest, was, however, not fully satisfied with his style of preaching in those days. He repeatedly warned him against being "showy" and "abstract" in his preaching. But the son defended himself very warmly against these charges, and refused to change the manner of his preaching, being convinced that he did not deserve the censure of those who found fault with his sermons, that he meant to preach Christ and Him crucified, for the salvation of his hearers. His skeletons and the manuscripts of sermons fully written out, prove that great care was taken in their preparation, and while here and there such illustrious examples as Reinhard and Saurin are followed, there is at the same time the unmistakable evidence of an individual and independent treatment of the subject. The question of preaching *ex tempore*, or reading from the manuscript, was also fully ventilated between Charles P. Krauth and his father. His own views on this point were given in an article in the *Lutheran Observer* (April 10, 1846) entitled, "A homiletical leaf: Extempore preaching," with the motto prefixed from "Midsummer Night's Dream":

Snug: **Have you the lion's part written?**
Pray you, if it be, give it me, for I am slow of study.
Quince: **You may do it extempore, for it is nothing but roaring.**

"No land," he says, "has produced finer specimens of sermonizing than Germany, and none has ever pretended to the brilliant and radical character of homiletical science which has been one of her distinguishing feat-

ures." He takes a decided stand against an exclusively extempore delivery. "Inspiration will never do for apostles and prophets what they could do for themselves, and it will not do it for any man." But on the other hand: "Reading sermons, word for word, is abominable. How many noble sermons have we seen thus utterly murdered, of which we could only utter with the poet 'pure, but oh! how cold.'" He recommends Sailer's little Manual of Homiletics as one well worthy of translation, and one which would be of great use to our American Church; and quotes from it several points in favor of writing out sermons word for word. The writer ought to be able to master his own thoughts in their order, perfectly. A man of moderate capacity and memory can do this readily in two hours if his sermon be well arranged. If it be badly arranged, an angel could hardly get possession of its contents in a year. The only proper way to commit such sermons is to commit them to the flames. The Homilolector has the double embarrassment of finding out what he has written, and then of reading it; the reciter must remember his words, and then utter them; but he who has his thoughts in train well impressed upon his mind, need but start them and they will remember themselves. But is not this method as difficult as any other? We answer that it is: that at first it may be more difficult than any method except the stupefying one of committing words to memory.

In another article, on the same general subject, entitled "Preaching with Fulness" (June 26, 1846), after quoting Reinhard's example in preparing his elaborate discourses, he says:

The narrow field to which ministers confine themselves in the choice of subjects, occasions a gradual decline in their own interest in the Gospel they proclaim. Few

preachers deliver sermons after the lapse of a number of years, with the same relative excellence as their first. Their knowledge has increased, their experience has become greater, and they might and should preach better than when they began—and perhaps they do—but relatively they do not preach as well. They have narrowed the circle of their thoughts in obedience to the clamor of the injudicious and the ignorant, until the few elementary thoughts to which they confine themselves have been worn threadbare—and have become as a tale often told, to themselves and their hearers. While it is one extreme of folly to represent every portion of the Word of God as of equal interest and value, it is another to deny that any portion is of some value. All are important and therefore must be presented—but the degree of their importance is to determine how often they shall be presented.

(Here follow quotations from Dr. J. M. Mason against preaching from insulated texts.)

At different times during his pastorate, so-called revival-meetings or protracted meetings were reported in the Church papers as going on in his congregation, and are referred to also in his private letters. The *Lutheran Observer* of April 7, 1843, refers to one of these occasions in the following language: "Some weeks ago our young brother Krauth, pastor of the Second English Lutheran church in Lombard Street, commenced a protracted meeting among his people which he continued for several weeks, until the decline of his physical powers admonished him to discontinue. The meetings were numerously attended; the preaching, which he performed mainly himself, was pointed, close, and practical, and attended by the signal blessing of God. A considerable number of individuals were awakened and hopefully converted, and the result will be a handsome accession of members to the church, who are now receiving special

instruction in a course of catechetical lectures by Brother Krauth. We were in hopes that the pastor himself would favor us with a brief account of this work of divine grace, in consequence of which we delayed referring to it. In the absence of such an account we merely allude to it now," etc. The very language of this account indicates that even at that time the young minister looked upon such efforts in a different way from what was customary, and that he was anxious to avoid the sensational measures which were in vogue in those days. He would not even call in the services of his brethren in the ministry, but did the work himself, even to the overtaxing of his strength by preaching thirteen times in fourteen days. But in this manner only could he carry on the work after a certain plan carefully laid out by himself, such as we find in the following arrangement of subjects for a " Revival " or protracted meeting:

1. Grieving the Spirit. 1 Sam. xxviii. 16.
2. Necessity of repentance. Acts xx. 21.
3. Necessity of faith. Acts xx. 21.
4. The natural heart enmity against God. Rom. viii. 7.
5. The Christian almost. Acts xxvi. 28.
6. The eternal ruin of the impenitent. Rom. ii. 4-6.
7. The love of Jesus. Eph. iii. 17-19.
8. The conversion of St. Paul. Gal. i. 15, 16.
9. The repentance of Judas.
10. The repentance of Peter.
11. The reasons for immediate surrender.
12. Spiritual death. Eph. ii. 1.
13. On the end of man's existence. Ezek. xv. 2.
14. On the condescension of Christ. Phil. ii. 5, 9.
15. The plan of salvation.

16. Counting the cost. Luke xiv. 28.
17. On the inevitable lot of human life. Eccles. xi. 8.
18. On the reward of the pious in heaven. Matt. v. 12.
19. The signs of the times. Matt. xvi. 1-3.
20. The love of life. Job ii. 4.
21. Marks of love to God. John v. 42.
22. The joy of Angels over a repenting sinner.
23. Thou art the man.
24. Let me die the death of the righteous.
25. Is there no balm in Gilead?
26. Claims of God on our gratitude.
27. Old things have passed away.
28. Youth the time to serve the Lord.

How strongly he condemned the practice of inviting other pastors on such occasions appears from the language employed in a letter to Mrs. Sarah Pearson, of April, 1843. He says:

The people here have been anxious to have Brother Stork to come in and assist Brother Morris in a protracted meeting. Regarding the whole system of interchange in that way as false and practically injurious, I hope that he may not. Satisfied as I am of the pernicious tendency as a general plan of action, of that method of managing things, I would not, with my present feelings, invite a brother to hold a protracted meeting for me, nor would I comply with a similar invitation on his part. Remember, I speak not now of the interchanges rendered necessary by the protracted and severe labors, or the ill health of a Christian brother, or the occasional interchange of pulpits as a matter of Christian courtesy. But the waiting for the cannon, whilst the enemy surprises us with our small arms in our hands, this roaring for big fiddles whilst the catgut grows musty on the little fiddles—this stirring up of lions whilst the housedog who can't roar, but is very useful in a small way by barking, is muz-

zled—this cannoning, big fiddling, and lionizing, this waiting for man to come with his artificial double-acting-tin-cased-safety-valve-syringe to refresh the parching soil, whilst Jehovah tells us to look up and pray, and the heaven of heavens shall descend in showers of glory and of grace upon us—Oh it is too bad, it is wicked! it is monstrous! But as long as those detestable phrases "getting up a revival," "starting the work," and the whole of that abominable genus of nomenclature continues, so long will men look for some fellow-man to get it up, and start it. "Jist git the spirit started," said a Methodist man to me, when I was at Canton—"and then it works like smoke"—very much like smoke, I guess.

Speaking of "New Measures" in a letter to his father (January 7, 1846), he says: "There has been a tremendous reaction. The most fanatical are sick of their excesses, and now I fear that the dangers of the other extreme must be encountered. The whole history of new measures in our churches is full of instruction. It teaches much more I am afraid than the Church is willing to learn. The great Coryphæus who led the extravagants in measures, seems now disposed to lead the disorganizers in church form, and thus to ripen us for a reaction which shall give us violent Puseyistic tendencies."

His own mind, even at that early time, moved in the direction of a firmly established scriptural order of public service in the House of God. Among his earliest notes and skeletons of sermons we find the draft of a "Liturgy, compiled from Scripture," consisting of a number of well-arranged Scripture passages under the following heads: Adoration, Confession, and Supplication.

The warm and lively interest he took in the children, and the work of the Sunday-school, appears from a number of carefully prepared addresses to Sunday-school teachers, either at monthly teachers' meetings, or on

special, festival occasions. From one of them we clip the following passage which is of significance also in other directions:

Catholicism and Romanism are two diverse principles. Consistent Protestantism is real Catholicism, whilst the Romish Church is essentially anti-Catholic. We must meet the claims of the Pretender by advancing those of the lawful sovereign. We must meet Roman Catholicism by the true embodiment of Catholicism.* We shall never make advances toward suppressing doctrinal errors by silly jokes about Pope Joanna, or even by tracing the portrait of mediæval Romanism in the mystic features of the Babylonish harlot. We must meet them like earnest and true men, remembering that we are doing a work for God and our country. Beginning at childhood we must be in earnest in developing the rudiments of truth in their immortal spirits. The best way to oppose error is neither to call it by hard names nor to drub it soundly with words of learned length and thundering sound. Oppose error by teaching truth. If the garden is parched it is an awkward way to remedy the drought by intercepting sunbeams. Water it and let the sunbeams do their worst.

The last and heaviest battle for religious liberty is yet to be fought. The signs of the times either mean much, or they have no significance. Romanism is the leading power of darkness. If it were unmitigated error we would apprehend nothing. If it were a more inanimate thing we might despise it. But it has just enough truth to be dangerous, enough life to render the struggle fraught with peril. True Protestantism is her antagonist principle. Romanism existed before the first Pope, and Protestantism had birth before the Reformation, yea was rocked side by side with the Saviour in the cradle of His infancy. Martin Luther was not the first Protestant.

* Cf. the Preface to the Conservative Reformation and its Theology, Phila., 1871, p. viii. "The Church problem is to attain a Protestant Catholicity or Catholic Protestantism."

Constantine was not the first Romanist. Though these principles have ever been in antagonistic position, their essential character is not that they are antagonist. Protestantism is not mere opposition to Romanism. That opposition is not essential to its being, further than that it must ever oppose error. Were this the case Protestantism would die as soon as Romanism. In killing her foe she would kill herself. Protestantism is positive, not negative. A Protestant is not merely one who is *not* a Romanist. He is one who *is* something, has positive views, decided feelings and actions, anything rather than negative.

These two principles have been borne over the same wave, and have come to our shore. We are the hope of the world. The struggle must be here. How shall we go forth to battle prepared to contend as becomes the sacramental host of the Most High? Let hot-blooded controversialists bring up an army of pamphlets, innuendoes, threats, I had rather have the little boys and little girls of a nation than the whole of them. Give me the little boys, the little girls, and you may take and welcome, the men and the women and the doctors of divinity.

(Address to the teachers of the Lombard Street Sabbath-school at the monthly concert, February, 1843.)

In his private studies during this period he made steady and systematic progress. There was hardly one letter sent to his father without a petition for one or more books which he needed for his work. A considerable number of these books were generously given to him by the father, though he repeatedly enjoined it upon him not to be too anxious about books. "*Non prodest, quam multum, sed quam bonum habes et legis.*" His little library rapidly increased to seven hundred volumes, which were to him like personal friends, the joy and pride of his heart. But with all his insatiable desire for gathering and possessing books, he was not the Bibliomaniac who spent

so much time in collecting books that he never had a moment's leisure to read. Nor was his love of reading a mere appetite, a maudlin desire of excitement, as in those who read so much that they never think, and who give point to the paradoxical remark of Hobbes: "Had I read as much as other men, I should have known as little." Few men know their books as well as he knew his. He was perfectly at home among them, and had full command of all the information that could be drawn from them. A catalogue of his books, covering the years 1845 (Baltimore), 1847 Shepherdstown), and 1848 (Winchester), has the following quotation from Beaumont and Fletcher inscribed on the front page:

> —"That place that does contain
> My books, the best companions, is to me
> A glorious court, where hourly I converse
> With the old sages and philosophers;
> And sometimes, for variety, I confer
> With kings and emperors and weigh their counsels,
> Calling their victories, if unjustly got,
> Unto a strict account, and, in my fancy,
> Deface their ill-placed statues."

This catalogue contains the following works of Martin Chemnitz: Loci Theologici; Examen Concilii Tridentini ("from father"). Edit. 1707, Frankfurt a M. (In a letter dated April 11, 1847, he asked for the loan of this book, as Rev. Wynecken of Baltimore was anxious to consult it.) Oratio de lectura Patrum. Fundamenta Doctrinæ de Cœna Sacra; De Duabus Naturis.

In his private studies the original language of the Old Testament held a prominent place. He had inherited his interest in it from his father who taught it in the Theological Seminary. Even in later years he used to look back with peculiar pleasure to his Hebrew reading in

those days, as may be seen from the following extract from a review of Dr. Fürst's Hebrew and Chaldee Dictionary, (*Lutheran and Missionary*, January 2, 1862):

The bare possession of this book imparts a Hebraistic tone to its possessor, and the attenuated faith, which we still retain, in our own Hebrew, is based in the main on our occasionally blowing the dust off our copy, and seeking in it for the roots, trunks, branches, blossoms, and fruits of some Semitic word. The use of it always brings on a paroxysm of our old Hebrew fever; the fever which reached its height in those fearsome times along the basin at Baltimore, when we gave our days to books, and were abandoned all night to the unmitigated horrors of the most bloodthirsty mosquitoes that ever probed a human cuticle.

From the classics, in which we read alone of dead things in dead tongues, what a delightful rise it was to the study of Hebrew—a tongue which can never be dead, because the things in it live forever. It was our earliest love in languages. Even the wedding to the diffusive toil of the pastoral work did not wholly prevent us from a little Platonic flirtation with it now and then; and when we take into our hands the works which reveal the beauties of the language, the smouldering fire flames up; there comes over us once more the desire to make completely our own that holy maiden of the Orient, with Gesenius, Ewald, Fürst, Delitzsch, and the reverend professor of Hebrew at Gettysburg as paranymphs.

In the study of the German language he also made such satisfactory progress that he began with confidence to look forward to the time when he would be as much at home in it as in English. But the principal study during this whole period was the exegesis of the Old and New Testament. To this the best hours of every day's work were given. And there is no doubt that it was this close

and systematic study of the Word, continued for years, which led him step by step to the thorough investigation of the cardinal points of Lutheran Theology, the Christological question, and the Real Presence. Being thus prepared, he afterward entered upon the more extensive study of the Lutheran Confessions and the substantial writings of the Lutheran Theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But the primary foundation of his devotion to the Lutheran Confession, in later years, is to be found in these early and thorough exegetical investigations which were carried on for years without interruption.

We make this statement to supplement to a certain degree the otherwise correct reminiscence of Professor S. Fritschel, D.D. ("In Memoriam" *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 30), when he says: "We once asked him in what manner God had led him to that knowledge and appreciation of the truth, as confessed in the Lutheran Church, which he possessed in such admirable thoroughness, clearness, and firmness. We thought that the Lord perhaps used as an instrument one of the few remaining witnesses of a former better time, or one of the confessors of His truth that were raised in recent times; and we would have liked to know the Ananias through whom this chosen vessel had been rescued from American Lutheranism, and restored to the pure and simple faith of the Church. But to our great astonishment we were informed that he had reached his decided Lutheran views without such personal acquaintance and direct influence of earlier or modern Lutheran theologians, simply through the study of the Lutheran Confessions themselves. When he turned away from the illusions of American Lutheranism in total disappointment and dissatisfaction, he found in the Confession the very thing he had

longed for, as an old treasure, shining in ever clearer and more perfect lustre."

It must not, however, be supposed that the road to the possession and enjoyment of that perfect light was to him so very smooth and easy. On the contrary, in those same years when the foundations were laid for the strong conservative theologian of the future, there was no lack of questions and doubts, of inward struggles, and even of bold and desperate attempts to solve the most difficult problems of theological speculation, independently of all the teachings of the Church, and to reconstruct the very foundations of her faith. His letters to his father give ample testimony of this. It was one of his greatest privileges to have the guidance and influence of such a father, to whom he could confide everything, who would most tenderly and affectionately enter into his difficulties, and, without driving him, lead him quietly in the right direction.

The most telling description of the state of his mind during this critical period of his life is found in a paragraph of his discourse, "The Bible a Perfect Book" (*Evangelical Review*, July, 1852). There, in speaking of himself, he says:

I know one, not yet by any means old, but older than he used to be, who, before he had been two years in the ministry, had remodelled the whole system of theology; had reduced, *ad absurdum*, the Athanasian theory of the eternal generation; had broached a scheme, which was to relieve all the difficulties of the prevalent doctrine of the Trinity and Incarnation; had laid the basis of a revised version of the Bible; had contributed to his father's edification a pile of useless papers, several infallible demonstrations on points which had exercised the Church for eighteen hundred years; and, in short, had got the heart of things in general from the left side to the

right. He has lived long enough, however, to lose all this stupendous knowledge; his infallible nostrums have spoiled by keeping; he has reached a happy condition of deplorable ignorance; is willing to learn from anybody, old or new, and hears a voice from that source, whence no warning originates in vain: "Lean not to thine own understanding."

In the spring of 1846 Rev. Drs. J. G. Morris and B. Kurtz embarked for Europe to attend the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in London. A meeting had been held February 25, 1846, at Frederick, Md., in order to appoint a number of delegates who were to attend the convention in London. Dr. B. Kurtz, the editor of the *Lutheran Observer*, submitted a number of resolutions, warmly approving of the design of the proposed convention and nominating Rev. S. S. Schmucker, D.D., B. Kurtz, D.D., J. G. Morris, D.D., N. Pohlman, D.D., J. McCron, T. Stork, and J. Few Smith, as delegates. The resolutions were unanimously adopted, but only Drs. Schmucker, Kurtz, and Morris were able to accept the appointment. They sailed from Baltimore in the "Schiller" on March 23, 1846. During their absence Charles P. Krauth supplied Dr. Morris's place in the congregation, and was engaged to write the editorial column for the *Lutheran Observer* in the place of Dr. B. Kurtz, for which service he received one dollar a week. To this arrangement we owe some of the most interesting and sprightly products of his prolific pen, such as the description of his "College Days," quoted in the preceding chapter, and the "May Day Coronation," which we present to the reader at the close of this chapter. The articles written for the *Lutheran Observer* during those summer months (April 10 to September 11) treat of the following subjects: A Homiletical Leaf: Extempore

Preaching; An Easter Meditation; Miracles and the Law of Nature; Too much Reading; Benefits of the Pastoral Office; Perseverance of Saints; the Characteristics of Neology (Part of his essay on the Lutheran View of the Real Presence in the Lord's Supper. See the following chapter); May Day Coronation; Preaching with Fulness; A Scrap of Biblical Criticism; Isaiah XIV., Destruction of Babylon; The Six Days of Creation; Catalogue of Pennsylvania College. The impression made by these articles on the readers of the *Observer* gave rise to the desire that the youthful editor might be continued in this office.

Shortly after the return of Dr. Kurtz from Europe his young substitute, *pro tempore*, was involved in a theological controversy with him, on the subject of private communion.

The *Lutheran Observer*, Friday, June 25, 1847, contained a lengthy article by the editor, Dr. Benjamin Kurtz, on "Administering the Lord's Supper in Private" or "clinical communion" as the writer was pleased to call it.

He urges the following six reasons against it:

1. There is no divine authority for it.
2. Apostolic usage does not warrant it.
3. The Lord's Supper is in its very nature a social ordinance.
4. It fosters the *opus operatum* view of Papists.
5. It ceases to be a public profession of religion.
6. Inability to discharge a duty absolves us from the obligation.

Under the head "Private Communion" Mr. Krauth sent a communication to the *Observer*, dated Baltimore, June 30, 1847, which appeared in the issue of July 23, and in which he opposes the article of Dr. Kurtz, on every

point. In discussing this question, he says, the burden of proof falls entirely upon those who deny the propriety of private communion. Referring to the Twenty-fifth Article of the Augsburg Confession, he maintains that "where there is an established usage it need not be proven to be scriptural; those who wish to overthrow it must prove that it is unscriptural. This conservative and judicious spirit, so opposed to a presumptuous radicalism, has preserved the Lutheran Church in her integrity when others have fallen by suicidal hands."

The Lord's Supper should never, either in church or elsewhere, be administered for the purpose of quieting apprehension. It should never be imparted until after satisfactory tests, whether in the congregation or the room of sickness and death. The question is not, shall it be given to the unworthy? but shall it be given to the worthy? Not shall it be given carelessly and frequently, but shall it be given at all?

We are in favor of private communion under some circumstances.

1. Because so far as there is a divine precedent in the matter it is directly in its favor, and in favor of no other form.

2. The Apostles never regarded the place or the numbers present as connected with any essential point in this institution.

3. The voice of ecclesiastical history and of current usage is entirely in favor of private communion. (Justin the Martyr, Irenæus, Eusebius are quoted as authorities.) Whether private communion be proper or not, it is certain it is not a "popish relic," and if Luther were on earth we do not think he would say so. If he did we should think he was mistaken.

4. Private communion under judicious direction promotes all the ends of the ordinance.

5. Private communion judiciously directed may be

rendered more generally free from superstition and abuse than in a public administration. Concerning his own pastoral practice he says:

"I claim no extraordinary moral courage—I have wept over its deficiencies—but I have refused, and will refuse again, those, though on the bed of sickness or death, of whose fitness I have been or shall be in doubt. And in the presence of the Searcher of hearts, I can declare that never have I received with more complete confidence the living than I have the dying saints, who in the reception of the emblems, confessed their faith and animated their joy, in the last moments of existence. Yet, if a minister feels that he cannot discriminate, or that he has not the moral strength to act out his convictions—let him uniformly refuse, but let him not presume to make his weakness a fetter to others."

6. The reception of the Lord's Supper is a positive duty, from whose obligation no one can escape except through actual inability, and a blessed privilege from which no one that is worthy dare be withheld.

During the pastorate in Baltimore, on November 12, 1844, he was married to Susan Reynolds, daughter of Isaac Reynolds and Mary Margareth Hoffmann, to whom he had been introduced by Mrs. Stonebreaker, with whom he was boarding. The ceremony was performed by his father. Mrs. Krauth and David and Emmeline McConaughy, of Gettysburg, were present as witnesses. The bridal pair paid a visit of about ten days to Gettysburg immediately after the nuptials. The father's judgment concerning this marriage was at first rather reserved and cautious. "I think that Charles has made a judicious choice, but speculation must not be indulged, the die is cast and time must tell the rest." But time did prove that this union was a source of happiness, unbroken until disturbed by that insidious disease which

brought so many cares and anxieties, and after nine short years removed the loving wife and mother. Of this marriage three children were born, Harriett Reynolds, afterward married to Rev. Adolph Spaeth, of Philadelphia, Susan Heiskell, who died in infancy, and Charles Philip, born in Winchester.

The progress of the congregation during the four years of Charles P. Krauth's pastorate was not very satisfactory. The sanguine expectations which were at first entertained, that the young and popular preacher would quickly gather and build up a large and flourishing congregation, were not realized. The erection of the large church, where it stood, was premature. The burden of its debt was crushing, it was doomed to a severe struggle from the very outset. Before two years had elapsed he offered his resignation with the full approval of his father, who thought it "entirely best for him to discontinue his labors there." In May, 1845, he preached his farewell discourse on "The Benefits of the Pastoral Office," from Ephesians iv. 11. The sermon was published by the Baltimore *Saturday Visitor* and reprinted in the *Lutheran Observer*, though the young pastor himself thought it had no particular merit. "I am sure," he says, "it is badly arranged and loose in style, nor is it improved by the fragmentary form in which it is reported."

The leisure of the following summer months was utilized chiefly in the preparation of an elaborate paper on the Lutheran Doctrine of the Real Presence in the Lord's Supper, by appointment of the Synod of Maryland, to which we shall refer more fully in the following chapter.

Having been re-elected, on August 7, 1845 he resumed his pastoral work in the Second English Lutheran church, the pecuniary difficulties of the congregation having been remedied by the assistance of the First Eng-

lish Lutheran church. But before long the former difficulties reappeared, and the congregation, in their distress, entered into negotiations with the Sixth Presbyterian church in Baltimore, with a view to the amelioration of their financial condition. The terms of agreement, as proposed by the Sixth Presbyterian church, included the joint occupation of the Lutheran church building, the union of the two Sunday-schools, the free use of thirty pews with the privilege of renting them to their members, the free use of the lecture-room for any distinctive meeting of the Sixth Presbyterian church, and in consideration of this, the payment of $150 to the Lutheran church. In regard to preaching and the administration of the Lord's Supper the proposition was, "that as the principles of our churches regard these as official acts, the arrangement of them be left to the pastors of the two churches, and the services on the Sabbath be divided between them."

It was hardly to be expected that such a desperate measure would essentially remedy the difficulties, or help to strengthen the bond of union between the pastor and the congregation. In the following spring (1847), we find him very much discouraged. He complains of the apathy of the church and the lack of cordiality between the congregations. He felt his situation to be a very uncomfortable one, "full of toil, trouble, and reproach, bearing the burden of the follies of others and all along obliged to struggle with poverty." (Letter to his father of March 17, 1847.) The time for which he had been elected having expired in the beginning of June, he declined standing as a candidate for re-election and formally resigned on May 24, 1847. The church and the pastor parted with the most friendly feelings. When the difficulties in the congregation were renewed, his father

was very anxious about a position that would be fitted to his capacity. He proposed first the establishment of a select school, and afterward the Agency for Pennsylvania College, which Rev. D. C. Smith, after a short trial, had given up on account of his failing health. About two months afterward, on August 3, 1847, he received a unanimous call to the Lutheran church at Shepherdstown, with the prospect of having Martinsburg, which had formerly constituted one pastoral charge with Shepherdstown, reunited as before, under one pastor. Before his final decision was taken in favor of Shepherdstown, he was urged by Rev. L. Eichelberger, of Winchester, Va., to go to Staunton and undertake the establishment of a Lutheran church in that place.

During the trying season of his Baltimore pastorate, he enjoyed the warm sympathy and fraternal advice of a brother in the ministry, whose successor he was to become a few years afterward, the Rev. Joseph Few Smith,* at that time pastor in Winchester, Va., and connected with Mr. Krauth by bonds of intimate friendship. On May 22, 1847, Mr. Smith had written to him: "There are doubtless some who will lay the fault entirely at your door and say: how much soever we love him and admire his talents, he is not the man for such a work; he fails in this and that and the other respect. Now this *may* be true. You may not be 'the man' for such a work. But I am fully satisfied that you have been hampered with peculiar difficulties, that there was error in the outset of the enterprise, that zeal was not guided by pru-

* Rev. Joseph Few Smith, D.D., was born in Philadelphia, in the year 1815, graduated at Yale College, 1840; was tutor in Western Reserve College, Ohio; ordained in 1842, and pastor, first at Valatie, N. Y., and then at Winchester, Va. From there he followed a call to Auburn Theological Seminary, and, after a few years, became the pastor of the Second Presbyterian church in Newark, N. J.

dence, and if there was the harmlessness of the dove, there was not the wisdom of the serpent prevalent in the concocting of the plan, and the commencement of operations. I have no doubt you are jaded, tired, and worn down with excessive labor and perplexity, and vexed with many annoyances, and I have also no doubt (I speak very earnestly), that a few weeks of rest and quietude would be of great service to you. I have a pleasant country residence, possessing the great blessings of quiet and fresh air, and here you would have a hearty welcome."

A few days after his resignation Mr. Smith wrote again:

"Let the thought that there is another Friend, above *all* human friends who also sympathizes with you, and to whom every throb of your heart, every desire, every effort is known, and who hears every sigh, let this thought give you comfort, and may His guidance conduct you safely along your present clouded path.

"To the general question, whether, being called of God to the Gospel ministry, your time, talents, energies, ought not to be all devoted to this one work, I answer unhesitatingly yes. You are God's servant whose commission is to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ, and when you put any other employment above this, or parallel with it, you do wrong."

With reference to the continuation of his work in Baltimore, this friend says: "I incline to the opinion that you had better relinquish your present charge. I fear that your mind and health will both suffer. Either you must decide to give yourself up wholly and heartily to the work and to bear your burden cheerfully, or abandon it. Although it is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth, it is not always good for a man that his energies and aspirations be repressed, and that in

youth he be too much conversant with discouragement and despondency.

"And now let me repeat most cordially my invitation to you and your family to come and spend some time, and a long time, with us. I am sure it would refresh you in soul and body. Were you here on this beautiful morning and could you stand at my door and look out, while birds of many varieties are tuning their musical voices and the leaves are sporting with the breeze, and dancing to the sunbeams, and the green grass is smiling upward its thanks for the refreshing rain, and the air is laden with the perfume of sweet flowers, I am sure that you would forget all your cares, and your heart would leap as mine does, with gladness and with pure devotion to that God who 'has made everything beautiful in his time.' Come, escape for a time from all that harasses, and here be at ease and be refreshed."

How fully, in the midst of all the bitter disappointments of his pastoral life in Baltimore, he preserved the buoyancy of his spirit and the cheerfulness of youth, is seen from the poetical and graphic description of a Sunday-school excursion written for the *Lutheran Observer* (May 22, 1846) under the title:

MAY DAY CORONATION.

(A Sketch on the Crown of my Hat.)

A Quaker friend called it "going a fifth-month-ing" —call it what you will, it was a glorious time. The largest omnibus in the city, attended by a lesser one, a younger sister, or daughter no doubt of the "Lady Jane" was in readiness at nine o'clock in the morning. Many an anxious look was cast at the sky, and speculations on rain as varied and as visionary as Mr. Esby's, were broached under the cloud, and abandoned with the sun. But not a drop fell until we were all safe at home

after nightfall, and making faint echoes of the merry laughter of the day, as we told the unhappy ones who were not there, of our joys. Soon the fair faces and bright eyes peering archly from beneath the pent-roof gipsy bonnets, made their appearance, the queen, and the queen-mother, the court, the Floras, the subjects, the crown, the grandeur, and all—and away. How proudly the horses tossed their heads—they were not ignorant that it was May-day, or whom they carried—not they. Soon the roar of the city was left behind, and we dashed along the road. Flowers were in every hand, and roses on every cheek. What a merry drive we had! The trees turned out to look at us; the dwarfish honeysuckle peeped through her leafy fingers; and down in every dell, and up on the banks by the road-side, the flowers were laughing and nodding their heads. The dog-wood family were out in their strength, and waved white handkerchiefs as we passed along—and I aver in all faith, that a faint hurrah was heard from the woods as we passed through, and if any one dare to insinuate that it was but an echo of our own boisterousness, may our firm ally, the rose, prick his envious finger to the quick. There was singing and shouting and the voice of youth and innocence rung out merry and clear, as the prattle of the roguish little brook which prances and whirls over the pebbles, and cries to the willow and the elder: "you can't catch me"—as it dashes on and on, and away.

We went forth now to the Coronation; England had not such a queen as we had. Innocent, gentle, and beautiful, no wonder the subjects would sing nothing through the whole day, but the song with which the Floras strew the pathway of their sovereign.

When the wind would come sweeping o'er the hillside, you might hear from some part of the woodland, the distant and dreamy sound of the chorus: "Come forth, come forth, thou lovely queen of May." A Bible, the best gift for a queen, was presented to her; and every portion of the ceremonies was conducted with the

recitation and singing of beautiful and appropriate verses written for the occasion.

What a famous spring was that which some May-day Columbus discovered in the woods. The water made everything over which it ran so yellow—it tasted so shockingly like an infusion of rusty nails, and was so free from frogs and every living thing, that no one could doubt that it was mineral, and endowed with high powers of curing everything.

Any one who shall drink of it shall be happy for a whole May-day—a famous spring indeed, and worth Baden-Baden, and all the Spas.

There was a fine old mill on the other side of the stream near which we were, and if the millers were not crazed at the end of the day, they were wonderful men, that's all. Such clattering up the steps, such tampering with the machinery, such forbidden touching, tasting, and handling, such industrious questioning (for even *little* women will ask questions, by the same inevitable law which makes a young toad hop like an old one), oh! it was hurly-burly to which the big wheels and the burr-stones were lullaby. And what a sight it was when a long gentleman in black had armed each of them with an immense branch of dogwood gleaming with flowers —when ranged in rank and file, the host returned to the centring spot singing, with voices mighty, yet feminine —as the daughter of a tempest yet in pap-and-bib-and-tucker-hood, may be supposed to do, when she tries to roar like her pa. They came with their waving banners of flowers and singing—"Singing what?" Stupid reader! Have we not told you, singing what they sang all day: "Come forth, come forth, thou lovely queen of May." Birnam Wood was come to Dunsinane, but Macbeth and all other wicked spirits had been dead since morning.

The longest day must have an end—how swiftly comes the close of a happy and a short one. When the hour of return came there was many an anxious plea for

delay, but even May-day has but twenty-four hours, and the sun—the witness of the happiness which will not let itself be fettered by rule, refuses to share in the irregularity, and sets as soberly as on a Sunday. But we had a triumphant ride home. When the whole band overflowing with innocent mirthfulness again met, there was a scene of wild joyousness in which alone the unbroken spirit could fully sympathize—which alone the undimmed in heart could understand. Oh! wearisome and toilsome is life; but with the unpolluted hearts of the young, if we permit ourselves again to be children, not *condescending* to be happy with them, but *raising* ourselves to it, we may win a green leaf from a barren waste, and for a time renew our youth like the eagle. The gladness which arises amid the works of God's hand, untortured by the hollow forms of society, and gushing as freely as a spring from the hill-side, which excites no regret and leaves no sting, is not indeed faith, but it is religion—it is the natural and instinctive attestation of the heart to the loveliness of God. It is the breeze which trembles melody among the boughs, it is the swelling bosom of flowers, singing at their morning consecration with baptismal dew, it is the sunshine which waves down glad and gladdening; a rainbow, a calm throbbing of waters on the beach—a part and parcel of the natural glory, whose very being praises God and knows not why. It is an instinct which alone is nothing, but yet it is not nothing, for it is not alone. It is one of the sounds which meet in God, the mighty sensorium of the universe. "Spread out the thunder," exclaimed Fiesco, "into its single tones, and it becomes a lullaby for children; pour it forth together in *one* quick peal and the royal sound shall move the heavens."

If the idolatrous worship of every age and clime justly be regarded as attesting man's struggles, perverted, yet undying, after the far away, his longings after an eternal beauty and hope, with which a living God can fill the soul, then these innocent and festive hours are a witness

and a pledge. It is round thine altar, our Father, we twine the flowers that make us glad, for Thou gavest them an array glorious beyond that of kings; to Thine hand we give the crown, for beauty and purity on earthly brows are but reflections of Thine own. Thou canst so hallow the joys of the present, as to make them pledges of those to come.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH HIS FATHER FROM 1842–1847.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER,

Baltimore, September, 1842.

My health has, I think, been benefited by my travels, so much so that I have been able to preach in Mr. Morris's church and in Old Town to-day without injury. Monument Street chapel is not to be my sphere as I supposed when I accepted the call to the Second English Lutheran church. The Lombard Street church is to be mine. It is to be consecrated next Lord's Day.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

October, 1842.

We are coming on reasonably well in Baltimore. We think the prospect of raising a respectable congregation encouraging. Our afternoon service is very well attended and our Sunday-school is flourishing. I take more exercise than formerly, and I think that I have already derived much benefit from it. I am endeavoring to pursue my studies with all diligence, devoting about twice as much time as I have ever before done to the direct study of the Scriptures. I write a sermon every week, and in the pulpit I alternately extemporize and use the MS. I would prefer committing to reading, but I cannot do it. The question therefore is between occasional reading and exclusive extemporizing. Which shall I do? I think that I can anticipate your answer. Could you let me have for a time Rosenmüller on Ex-

odus and Leviticus, Herder on Hebrew poetry, and Gibbon's Decline and Fall? I have here almost entirely to depend on my own library, for I have not access to any good collection of books, and if I had I should dislike to borrow. I fully agree with you in regard to an undue anxiety about books, and yet is it not an advantage to have the best works for reference? and as many of your books have ceased to have a value to you, and as you have access to those excellent libraries, might they not, instead of growing dusty in inglorious disuse, be shedding their light over my soul? I must confess, too, that I feel to its utmost limit the mock sentiment of the satirist "a book's a book although there's nothing in it;" nor could I describe the secret satisfaction with which I step back and cast my eyes over the volumes that form my library. Is such a feeling rational or irrational? It is surely not a degrading folly, if it be not the part of wisdom.

I find, dear father, the experience of every day and the more intimate study of God's Holy Word giving me more expanded and consolatory views of the nature of true religion. I may be deceiving myself, but I have thought that I am making some advances in Christian attainment—yet as faith and hope expand I find that new and peculiar difficulties present themselves in their company.

My views of the atonement are now clearer than they ever were, and I feel that a lifetime is not enough to preach all the wondrous and lovely features of that one doctrine of Christ crucified. Will you often remember me in your prayers, for I have need of them all.

THE FATHER TO C. P. K.

October 27, 1842.

I was pleased to hear from Professor Baugher that you had been fully admitted into the ministry of the Gospel by the laying on of the hands of bishops. You have early become enlisted in the ministerial service of

Christ, and I pray that you may be a workman that needeth not to be ashamed. Many of those young men who come here to prepare for the ministry are older than you now are, and yet remain, necessarily, seven or eight years. If spared, you can do much, very much, before you attain the age at which they start. I am much pleased to hear that your prospects are encouraging. You say something about preaching. It is to every pastor all-important. You must write, or you will not accomplish as much as you might. I would aim to be ready (and writing conduces to it) to extemporize, but you ought to write at least one sermon a week, and make large preparation in notes for the other. If, when you do not use a manuscript, you cannot commit words, you probably can ideas.

Perhaps you could get into Mr. Haesbart's plan. It is a very excellent one, and you are at the right age to undertake it. It consists in making a skeleton of a discourse, and then thinking it out in the mind till every idea is clear, and the whole discourse before the soul. Sentences can be prepared in this way of an ornamental character where they would be appropriate. When you use a manuscript write large, and by all means avoid close reading.

THE FATHER TO C. P. K.

January 3, 1843.

Prosecute your studies with a reference to a fundamental acquaintance with the Bible. You can employ much time with the Original Scriptures, Gesenius, the New Testament Lexicon, and the grammar of these languages. Try hard to become able to read German with ease. In this language there are great treasures for the divine. You are in a good situation to learn the emptiness of human applause. Bestowed so freely it must appear to be utterly worthless. The Lord keep you humble. Aim to do good in your preaching and in your intercourse with your people.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

February 14, 1843.

I am in tolerable health and in good spirits. I began last night a protracted meeting which I trust the Lord may bless. I preached Sunday before last for Dr. Breckenridge, have preached once in the Methodist church in Fayette Street, and have been holding forth at various times and places for our Lutheran brethren here. I expect to preach every night this week and the next. If my strength should utterly fail of course I cannot do so, but I dislike the system of imposing on clerical brethren so much, that I shall not be easily induced to abandon my intention. My people are affectionate. I am treated with kindness and respect by all "sorts and conditions of men," and I feel truly grateful. I am still tugging away at the original language of the Scriptures. I read a great deal of Latin and some German. I purchased a copy of d'Aubigné's history for one dollar. Have they a copy in the college library?

I believe that you would be disappointed if I did not wind up with a catalogue of wants—and I am sure you would be, if, among these wants, books did not figure largely. I should be obliged to you if you would send me several MSS. which I left behind. The ones which I wish are the plans from Reinhard—your notes on John—a MSS. book with a string passed around the edge, and entitled "Horæ Collegianæ," and a sermon on family prayer—of *my* books which I left behind (I should find it difficult to prove the applicability of that word to some of them) I should be obliged to you for those odd volumes of sermons by Davies, Doddridge's sermons and *Campbell's Theology*. I should be thankful for any works you have to spare, especially on the subject of biblical criticism, in the way of commentary, or on the subject of prophecy. By this time you are ready to say, I suppose, that had the preacher of Israel known me, he

might have said there "are *four* things that are never satisfied."

Please write me a long epistle and as the last was critical pray let the next be homiletical.

THE FATHER TO C. P. K.

February 17, 1843.

You ask for books on prophecy. I have nothing of the kind that, I suppose, you desire. Hengstenberg on the Messianic prophecies you know, and in the form that I have it (German) you could not use it.

My best work on biblical criticism in English you have in Horne's Introduction. I am a little surprised that you ask for Exegesis—a beginner in theology, who has Michaelis' Bible, Grotius and Vogel and Doederlein, Rosenmüller's Scholia on the New Testament, parts of the Old, Henry's Commentary, and various works on different parts of the Bible—who can consult, whenever he pleases, at Dr. Morris', Poole's Synopsis, that great storehouse of the older exegesis and excellent substitute to the Critici Sacri, who has grammars, lexicons, and the great ancient versions, so as almost to make commentaries unnecessary, who can, if he wishes the views of Olshausen on a particular point, obtain it from Mr. Morris—that a young man surrounded with such ample helps should ask for more, appears to me singular. You do not know what you have. Study, my dear son, the original languages thoroughly, lean but little upon commentators. Study German; prepare yourself for the use of the exegesis of the German school, but, I insist upon it, your great business now is not to read a great deal, but to study the Bible as I have again and again instructed you. You ought to wish for the present to have no more books, lest they should tempt you to neglect the more important and severe studies. Would that I had read much less myself and studied more!

THE FATHER TO C. P. K.

March 24, 1843.

I have been afraid from some information that I have incidentally received, that your labors have injured your health. I should deem it better for you not to prosecute your ministry for the present than to endanger your future usefulness. If, after the trial you have made, you think yourself physically unable to sustain your present position, it would be better to decline a new engagement, though, I suppose, there are many reasons for holding on, if the sacrifice would not be too great. You will probably receive an invitation to preach at Winchester. If you will come and stay with us as long as you may find it necessary, we will be pleased to furnish you the necessaries of life.

April 19, 1843.

I have heard that your preaching is becoming abstract. Try to make it concrete and simple and speak to the hearts of men, and if you find a tendency in you to imitate Mr. Duncan—let him alone.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

March 26, 1843.

I have no undue anxiety to remain. I think I can say that I am ready to go whithersoever the Spirit may lead me. Our protracted meeting, so far as we can judge, has been eminently successful; between sixty and seventy persons have manifested an interest in the Redeemer, some from sympathy with the emotions of others no doubt, but many truly led by an earnest desire to obtain salvation. I have been obliged to preach, pray, and labor a great deal, and have found my physical strength daily sinking more and more beneath the efforts I have been compelled to make. We have now en-

tered on the fourth week, and how much longer we shall feel ourselves necessitated to proceed I do not know.

I give you many thanks for the books you were so kind as to send me. That I feel heartily ashamed of my application for more exegetical matter I need scarcely assure you. I asked for them because I am exceedingly interested in the study of that branch of sacred literature, without reflecting how much of the most valuable matter I already had. I regret my request on another ground. It was calculated to present in a false aspect my present intellectual habits. I have confined myself to a rigid course of study. I devote all the morning until one o'clock to study of the originals of the Bible, and writing sermons. I am trying to draw up a complete system of divinity in my own handwriting, of which I have written some hundred pages already. I have never studied to more advantage. The anatomists tell us that we are a little longer in the morning than when we go to bed, but I sometimes think I feel intellectually a little longer when I go to bed than when I rose.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

April 26, 1843.

I thank you for the copy of Doederlein. I have examined it and am pleased with my acquisition. The Rev. Mr. H. entered my room the other day, and seeing my Hebrew Bible, with whose study I had just been occupied lying on the table, expressed surprise that I was *still* in the habit of reading Hebrew. His view, which I find to be the most popular one, evidently was, that Hebrew was something of which we were to learn the alphabet in the seminary and forget the alphabet in the ministry.

In regard to my preaching and its abstractness I hope I am *not* abstract. I am certain I do not wish to be so. I have had reason, and others think with me, to suppose that a large number have been turned to Christ under my ministry. I try to preach directly and forcibly. I de-

spise the thought of imitating any one and surely Mr. D., much as I admire his abilities, would be the very last model I should take. I try to present truth in fresh aspects, I try to address my people as though they were rational and could understand "the *reason* of the hope that is in them." So far as this renders it necessary I am abstract; never as much so as Paul, nor more so than our professors at G. I don't, however, tell anecdotes in the pulpit nor do I say, "shan't" and "look here," and so forth, and speak of the "devil's last kick" and such like forms of speech and figures of rhetoric unknown to Blair and decency. My members profess to be instructed and edified. They attend better than in some other churches where the preacher has not the power of abstracting anything save the antimorphetic principle from his hearers. If my style of preaching is changing at all, I am much deceived if I am not becoming *less* abstract.

Baltimore, June 5, 1843.

My health is, with temporary relapses, improving. Our church continues to prosper. I have written an article for Dr. Morris' *Annual* entitled "Luther's Cradle Smile." The poetical department was the one for which I had the least inclination, but he had more need of a supply for it.

THE FATHER TO C. P. K.

October 31, 1843.

Peter Sauerwein reported your health as not so good, so that you had relinquished some of your appointments. I feel uneasy whenever I hear that you are not well, because I always connect it with the idea that you commenced the pastoral life too young. I hardly know what to say, but I think that if (as I suppose is the case) you ought not to relinquish your post, you should reduce your labors to your strength. If necessary preach once on the Sabbath and attend one meeting in the week.

Do not study too much, and avoid sitting up late at night. Take a trip occasionally. It will be better for you to do this than to break yourself down in the beginning of your career, or to induce a premature inability to officiate in your office.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

Baltimore, December 30, 1843.

My health has improved very much and I am happy. My time is fully occupied, indeed I have more duties than I can properly attend to. I am still as enthusiastic as ever in regard to Hebrew.

Our church, I think, is prosperous; our congregations increase, and our people, I trust, growing in grace. I have special need, dear father, of your prayers, especially that I may be kept in humility and lowliness before God, and that my natural tendency to levity may be suppressed.

THE FATHER TO C. P. K.

January 11, 1844.

I have heard that your preaching is praised by some, and pronounced too showy by others. Your lecture before the Mercantile,* it has been said, did not give such general satisfaction, it was thought too highly spiced for such an occasion, and not dignified enough for your profession. Dear C. the praises of men are most contemptible. Look at what is taking place every day around you and estimate them. Forget yourself when you preach, avoid the reproach of being showy, and on no occasion forget that you are a minister of Jesus Christ. If you preach yourself and if you court the applause of men, the issue will be sorrowful. I do not believe that you have transgressed in either matter in any serious degree—human infirmity considered, but I trem-

* "On the Spirit of Intellectual Beauty," a lecture delivered before the Mercantile Library Association of Baltimore, December, 1843.

ble for you in the situation you occupy, and would supererogatively guard you against the rock on which so many have been dashed to pieces.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

Baltimore, January 15, 1844.

Dear father, if you knew how deeply the slightest expression of disapprobation on your part wounds me, I am sure that you would not inflict censure unless you had good reason to think it deserved. I do not say or think that you have done so, yet I cannot but regard the remark that my preaching is too showy in the only sense in which I can regard it, in the only sense, indeed, in which it could be regarded, as a censure, as totally (I hope not wilfully) untrue. I have devoted myself almost exclusively for some time past to the direct study of the Holy Scriptures. My principal labor and aim in the treatment of any text has been not to throw upon it the glare of human opinion, but the pure light of other portions of the Word of God. I never enter upon preparation without prayer to Him who alone can make me a worthy minister of the New Testament, and with a clear conscience I can say, that never have I attempted to make a display of myself. That the Lord Jesus has been the great theme of my sermons I know, for I feel Him nearer and dearer to my heart than all besides, and those who have for years not only heard the Gospel, but professed to be children of God, have declared, that never before did they so realize the work, the glory, and the condescension of the Redeemer. If, indeed, I am preaching not Christ crucified, but myself, how shall I discover it? With every power of my own I have avoided it, and have gone again and again in prayer to Him who only can give a knowledge of our own weakness. Yet with all this I feel ready to appeal to the great Searcher of hearts to attest my innocence—my innocence I mean so far as designed transgression is concerned. Whether an earnest desire really to instruct and

edify my people, and like a scribe instructed into the Kingdom of Heaven to bring forth not only old things but new, so far as God's Word and Spirit shall lead me to them, combined with action in which my own emotions compel me to be vehement—whether these be the basis of the remark, or whether it arise purely from an unhappy tendency, too common, to put the worst construction where two are possible, I know not. I dare not, and I will not with my present convictions, alter in any essential feature, my preaching. I cannot agree to make the censure of men less, by doing that which would make me deserve it more.

THE FATHER TO C. P. K.

January 22, 1844.

Yours was entirely satisfactory and I would merely say that I entertained no doubt of your conscientiousness and uprightness. I trust you will always exercise yourself in the support of pure motives, and make the glory of God your aim in all things.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

March, 1844.

I am not so entirely happy as I formerly was—despite the fondness for study, the pleasant situation, and the espousal to our infant church, which in the argument of one of your last letters you seemed to think were sufficient. I never knew or imagined that there would be so many temptations connected with the ministry. My time, especially in the evenings, is most lamentably frittered away in compliance with invitations which it seems impossible to refuse, but whose number is only increased by compliance. This will either continue to be my torment or will only cease to be such when domestic habits and the love of the calm peacefulness of home are completely destroyed. I am not growing in the divine life as I once believed that I was, and I am afraid that I shall cease to

bear in my heart that earnest desire to be like my Redeemer, by which I trust that I have been and still am actuated.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

August 26, 1844.

I am now at the eighteenth chapter of First Samuel in my course of regular reading, but have read what is more than equivalent to it in every portion of the Old Testament. I grow, if possible, fonder of these biblical studies every day, and now feel myself almost independent in my investigations. I can read Hebrew passably—N. T. Greek as fluently as English, and, of course, the Septuagint moderately well.

THE FATHER TO C. P. K.

August 30, 1844.

I feel much interested about your discoveries on a subject which I thought was exhausted—the Trinity. I do not understand from what you say, in what respect your views differ from the Trinitarian and Sabellian systems. I must infer from what you assert, that you subscribe neither to the one nor to the other, and reject in toto the Socinian. I was aware that a certain gentleman of your city broached a system which he regards as unique, and which everybody else regards as Sabellian, and which has been rejected almost unanimously, by divines of every grade, as less tenable than even Socinianism. If you have been captivated with the theories of Dr. Duncan, I think you have permitted yourself to be influenced by a poor exegetical scholar, and a reasoner verbose but not profound. He does not believe in a Trinity. According to this system there are three manifestations and nothing more. Can you reconcile this with the Bible? Do any exegetical scholars *in the world* advocate such a system? You may say Swedenborgians do; but who are they? If there is not diversity as well as

unity in the Godhead, then I must say that the Bible is the most unfortunately worded book in the world. That it teaches that the Godhead is one and three (not manifestations) is to me clear beyond the shadow of a doubt. *How* it is, I can say with Luther, I do not know, nor do I expect to know. The Patripassian system is, in my judgment, full of absurdities. If you reject a distinction, what nonsense would the first chapter of John make! In the beginning was God and God was with God and God was God. But it is not necessary to point out what sad havoc it must necessarily make with the language of Scripture. Much as I abhor Socinianism, I would find it more easy to reconcile it with the Bible than Sabellianism, for your system is either that or nothing.

After quoting the testimony of the Fathers against Sabellius, he proceeds:

Do not be too ready to infer that you are making advances beyond others. Men may use language about the Trinity which is objectionable and unscriptural, but the truth remains—a great mystery, but clearly revealed. I have written thus much and thus soon, to put you on your guard, and I entreat you *beware of men.* I have no doubt that you will on this, as on other subjects, be led to the truth if you trust not to your own wisdom but to the guidance of the Third in the Trinity, the Holy Ghost.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

No date, perhaps September, 1844.

For your full and kind expression of opinion you have my most heartfelt thanks. If I am in error, next to God's Word and His Holy Spirit you are calculated to lead me to the truth. I say to lead, not to bring me back, for as a Trinitarian in the ordinary sense, I never understood precisely what was the truth I professed. Your conclusion in regard to the source of my "discoveries" is not correct. I am not Sabellian or Duncanian. I believe those views to be identical, and

though not so dangerous, yet far less tenable than the Arian heresy. Dr. Duncan is shallow as a reasoner and as a Biblical scholar. In the latter I feel that I am far in advance of him, nor do I feel flattered in thinking so. You ask, can I reconcile the system of three manifestations with the Bible. I answer "no"; nor can I think that the doctrine of three *persons*, on any rational definition of that word, is taught there. There is a distinction, threefold, apart from which the great and blessed God never has been and never will be known. There is diversity as well as unity, and were the election between Sabellius and Athanasius I confess I should receive the creed of the latter. I have tried to come like a little child to God's Book. I have not followed *men*. If I have been led astray, it was in trying to follow light from heaven. But surely that error cannot be vital which has led me to profounder thought and more expanded conceptions, which has enlarged my Father in heaven and thrown over the work of my Redeemer new features, to awaken all the love, and to prompt all the obedience, of which His Spirit has given me the capacity.

Dr. Duncan, so frequently referred to in these letters, was a warm friend of Dr. J. G. Morris, who introduced Charles P. Krauth to him. He began his ministry in the Presbyterian Church, but died without any ecclesiastical connection.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

(Three weeks after the marriage.)

December 3, 1844.

We got home safely. I am snugly fixed again and very happy. I have had my new shelves put up, though my books are not yet all arranged. I think I have on them now about seven hundred volumes. I have about one hundred and forty volumes of history including biography, one hundred and fifty of matter on the Bible,

about one hundred and twenty on theology and practical religion, about one hundred and fifty of select literature, about sixty of scientific and philosophic subjects, and the rest encyclopædias, dictionaries, grammars, etc.

I preached twice on Sunday on Jacob's ladder, which I assumed not to have been a ladder at all. I once heard a Methodist preacher of some notoriety assert that "the woman in the wilderness" meant the Pilgrim *fathers*. I hope that I was not like him.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

January 9, 1845.

We have been moving on very quietly through the winter. My health is very good and I am very happy. I have more undisturbed time for study than I have had since I lived in Baltimore. Susan is no great talker, so that when she is in the study if I be disturbed it is my own fault.

[In the absence of Mr. Krauth his wife writes to him as follows: I miss you from the study, where we have spent so many pleasant hours. I have no one to read to me now. I am afraid Des Cartes would not interest me except from your lips, and even then the mingling of sleeves, ruffles, etc., in my mind would be very apt to convert the "metaphysical" into the "empirical."]

I am redeeming the promise I made during my last visit, and am studying German faithfully every day. I have been devoting nearly two hours a day to it, and shall continue to do so until I am as perfectly at my ease in it as in English. I feel as if I were already over the most formidable difficulties, and am pursuing it with an interest which I am sure will not abate. What will you give me, if within three months dating from January 1, I write you a letter of three pages in tolerable German? I am determined that the mournful foreboding you once

expressed when I talked of reading "Faust" (that you wouldn't live to see it) shall not be realized.

I am continuing my old routine of Hebrew, Greek, and Church History. I am nearly at the close of 2 Kings, regular reading, verifying the references in the original. In Church History I am at the seventeenth century, with huge collateral readings. I read classic Greek and Latin as occasion offers, but find no time for general reading, so if I am not intolerably stupid I shall know something by and by.

I am to lecture in Dr. Morris's church shortly. My subject is "The world and its gods at the Advent." It is the first chapter of *my* Church History.

This lecture was printed in the *Literary Record and Journal* of the Linnæan Association, 1847, and afterward delivered again in a revised form, under the title "The Augustan Age."

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

February 18, 1845.

A protracted meeting has been going on for the last two weeks in my church. We are still in progress. Fifteen or sixteen persons have made known their interest in the subject of religion. Our meetings have been very solemn, and I hope very profitable. I have had about twenty meetings and have preached thirteen times in the past two weeks, and am of course much exhausted. This week I hope to secure help. I wish you could come down and remain some days with us.

The labors of the last two weeks, of course, have broken in very seriously on my studies. I never omit my biblical reading. I am now in Isaiah, a portion to which for two years past I have been looking forward with intense interest. Although I take but a page a day, a thousand things are presented in the reading which I have not time to examine. What a beggarly thing

studying the Bible in a translation is, when compared with the study of it in its own tongues.

I have got the second volume of Wetstenii Novum Testamentum Græc. from the Baltimore library. I wished to consult it on the term ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ Phil. ii. 6. What is your opinion of its meaning?

The German is going on. I have written part of a letter to you but it is awful. I had to subjoin a translation as I went along for fear I should not be able afterward to read it myself. I wish to preach, by request, a sermon on the "Genius of Lutheranism," a work for whose execution I have sufficient Lutheranism if I have very little genius.

In answer to this (March 6, 1845), the father gives him a full extract from his own exegetical notes on this passage, stating, that on the main point it never presented any difficulty to him, and that he had always regarded it as one of the most decisive on the subject of our Lord's divinity. In his correspondence with Rev. Jos. Few Smith the same passage forms the theme of the letters of this date.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

Baltimore, March 25, 1845.

As to the passage on which I asked your opinion I think I can say with you that *in the main point* it suggests no difficulty. For by the main point I understand you to mean *the proper Deity* of our blessed Saviour. My difficulty is this: the *being*, who was ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ was humbled by taking on him the μορφὴ δούλου and this form of a servant he took upon him by being born as other men are, etc. Μορφὴ cannot mean *nature*, for so to interpret it is contrary to its use in the LXX. and

the New Testament, and after looking at the passages in the classics referred to for verification of such a usage by them, I am not at all satisfied with the proof. The apostle is speaking in regard to condition, not nature. I think it is evident, that the form of God is to be understood of the Saviour before His Incarnation. Now did His divine nature change its character in the slightest degree when He assumed flesh? Was the *God* in the form of a slave? If *only* a divine nature is predicated of the Saviour before His incarnation, what was there capable of the ταπείνωσις? If Godhead be impassible, how can we talk of the Son of God suffering this diminution, proving thereby His condescension? Will not such a view rob Him of His proper Deity or make the distinction not that of the Trinity but of Tritheism? *Where is the evidence that the soul of our Redeemer began its existence simultaneously with His body?*

Rheinwald's view, I think, is defective in this that he locates the period to which the expression ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ is applied subsequent to His incarnation and during His ministry. By the form of God I think is meant the external appearance by which God was made known, as by the form of a servant, the external appearance by which a servant is recognized. The antithesis is not between form of God and form of *man*, for in the Old Testament it is in the form of a *man* God is represented as revealed, and this complex mediatorial being, God-Man, is called the legate of the covenant. It was not man's form, but being *born* in it which was the proof that He took the form of a servant. He is *now* in the form of a man, though His body is glorified and His humiliation has ceased forever. Is not His form now that of God? If we are to conceive of Him as existing only in a divine nature, will it not be a fair test to supply for the relative (ὃς) the word "God"?

But I am afraid that I shall weary you. Daily impressed as I am more profoundly with a consciousness

that the Bible is the Word of God, my anxiety increases to place myself on a basis purely scriptural. How far we may use the opinions of others as a guide in such a search I find it difficult to determine. Must I go on as I have been going?

I am with many interruptions jogging on in my systematic way; have reached the thirty-first chapter of Isaiah, reading with care every word, and find that, though among Hebrews I should be thought a Gentile, among Gentiles I am considered quite a Hebrew. The Jewish missionary comes sometimes to consult me on questions of Hebrew interpretation, and in the morning when I am sitting down stairs with my Bible on my knee, mother insists on my reading a little aloud, "just to give us an idea how it sounds." Their opinion of it is that "it is very rough." I find my Septuagint of great service. I think it is at the bottom of some of my heresies. I have finished Mosheim and have absolutely been nibbling at Spittler's Grundriss and Stäudlin's Geschichte. I have also read some in Boyse's Allgemeine Welthistorie, Niemeyer's Characteristiken and am reading Seiler's Homiletik. These, with the German Bible, have formed part of my daily reading. I am determined that your forebodings about Faust shall not be realized. I have been reading Homer's Iliad with deep pleasure also. On the whole I am astonishingly busy for a lazy man, and could hardly do more if I were industrious.

Our communion is at hand. We shall add about a dozen members to our church, all of them valuable. Yet I do not consider our prospects as very encouraging, but I shall not despair. I hope that I am actuated by an earnest desire for the glory of my Redeemer, and that if a prospect of usefulness in this field should be closed, He will open another. Please speak to me with more definiteness in regard to a possible abandonment of this post on my part; when and how could I be useful if I left here?

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

April 19, 1845.

We had a meeting of council on Monday night in which there was but one opinion, and that was that unless a providence of some unseen character presented itself, the enterprise must eventually be abandoned and the church sold. This I feared from the beginning, and have freely told you so; the injudicious location, the heavy debt, the ground rent, the enormous price of the building, the mistake in its erection which gives us the serious annoyance of the echo, are difficulties so serious, that he who does not estimate them in predicting or accounting for a failure must be stupid or prejudiced. But Dr. Morris tells me that it is my preaching which is partly the cause of it, that I bestow too much care and labor on my sermons, that I study too much, that I must quit studying, must give up Church History. When I tell you that I regularly preach three times a week, that I spend from four to five hours every day in pastoral visiting, that I have had, until two weeks past, two lectures a week for catechumens, that I find little time to read more than my Bible, you may judge how far the argument is valid. I cannot take from my people time which is theirs; I have been living and working for them alone.

I humbly trust that I am willing to be the servant of Jesus Christ—to His eyes I open my heart. I have erred, alas! how often; but I have not been faithless nor will I be now. I shall labor on here with all my might until God opens another path before me. To His hands I commit myself.

THE FATHER TO C. P. K.

April 22, 1845.

I regret that your church affairs are so unpromising, but I am sure that you are not to blame. It was not reasonable to expect success. It seems to be a very singular

charge against a young minister that he is studious. If you had not been, your church would not be open now. As for sustaining any injury in your reputation in the event of a failure, that is all idle. If the church cannot go on, or if it can go on better without you, resign. Two things are certain; that you will not remain unemployed long, and that you will be at no loss for a home whilst I have one. The Lutheran Church, I trust, has much important work for you to perform. Your trials will fit you for it.

May 27, 1845.

No voice has yet reached you, calling on you for aid. You will have to exercise patience and trust in God. He will indicate to you His will in due time. In the interim you have the delightful privilege of collecting truth, not to magnify yourself, but to glorify your Redeemer. You ought to use some of your leisure in the study of German. As an instrument of knowledge you will find it very important. So much of the best theological literature is contained in it, so much of the literature of our own Church, that it seems almost indispensable to the learned theologian and the intelligent Lutheran.

I hope you will remain cheerful and firm. Write soon, write often, and write at length, and command my aid in any way in which it can be afforded.

June 16, 1845.

I can recommend Dr. Arnold's life as an exceedingly interesting biography. I admire the man much both for his intellectual and moral excellence. It is cheering to see such views as he expresses in regard to the hierarchy of the Church. The arrogant pretensions of the Christian Ministry, both Roman Catholic and Protestant Catholic, I regard with utter aversion, and I would rather be a country schoolmaster than a minister in an

exclusive Church. Christianity, in itself all glorious, is greatly disfigured by every form of High Churchism.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

June 24, 1845.

I am moving along very quietly and happily, working industriously, but controlling to a great extent my own labor. I work a little in the morning at my discourse on the Lord's Supper. The subject is most interesting, but it requires both study and thought. I wish to take a high aim, for, I believe, a good essay on that subject may prove a service to our Church.

What the future is to unfold to me I do not know. I am waiting God's will resignedly.

THE FATHER TO C. P. K.

August 28, 1845.

You certainly begin your renewed pastorship under propitious circumstances—that is, for an enterprise which has so many real difficulties. Your experience in the past will materially aid you in the future. You are no longer a novice, but have acquired some experience, and you can turn the whole to good account. Although I have not received any satisfactory evidence that you have failed in the discharge of your duty heretofore, I have no doubt that you will know your charge, and the most likely method of advancing its interests, better than you did.

Do you see the *Weekly Messenger?* Dr. Nevin's defence of himself against the charges of heresy would interest you. The paper of this week contains his views on the Lord's Supper. You would, no doubt, find the discussion attractive at this time, as you are investigating the same subject. The tone in which he speaks of the views of the advocates of a real presence is very different from that to which we have been accustomed. Perhaps your mind could not have been better directed than it has been by the examination of that subject.

September 20, 1845.

In regard to the Lord's Supper I would say that my views have been those which prevail, I believe, in all our Protestant Churches in this country. The bread I consider bread and the wine, wine. Both symbols, the one of the body, the other of the blood of Christ. The presence of Christ in the ordinance I have regarded as a spiritual presence and no other. The effect of the ordinance depending on the moral qualifications of the recipient. I am not certain that I have looked at the theories involving a real physical presence with sufficient care. In common with many others I have considered the Lutheran view as so closely related to the Roman Catholic as perhaps not to give it a proper hearing. I should like to investigate the whole subject *de novo*. I consider you fortunate in having your attention directed to it, and can only say, do not be afraid of the truth; but at the same time do not permit yourself to be too hasty in your deductions. If you should feel yourself constrained to modify your original views and to approximate more nearly to the pristine faith of the Church, I am content.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

March 12, 1846.

Dr. Morris has changed his purpose of going in the "Hermann." She is not yet in port and will need repairs when she does arrive. He is preparing to embark in the "Schiller," a fine vessel, which sails for Bremen next week or the week after. What Dr. Kurtz purposes to do, I know not, but M. says he would wait a month to save a fip. So I presume he will stick to free passage and the "Hermann." Dr. M. is full of it. He rattles his rattle like his zoölogical friend, the snake with the bones in the tail. He is in fine humor, very sanguine, and I have no doubt will be of great service to the college in his tour. He told me yesterday what sort of a journal he was going to write of his travels. It is to be, according to his account, a perfect budget of Pfefferkuchen

with a great deal of the Pfeffer. He has already arranged the description of a rencontre in which he shakes his fist under an Englishman's nose on the Oregon question,* on which he seems determined, while abroad, to go for the whole or none. We are therefore to take with a grain of allowance the piquant sketches which our theological Dumas will furnish, as it is very possible that some of the sketches of European things may be written on the passage out to relieve the tedium of a voyage. It seems to be nearly determined now that I am to have the charge of the Doctor's church during his absence, to supply his pulpit half the time and to see to it for the rest. For this I shall receive a compensation. Dr. Kurtz is to pay me for one column of editorial per week one dollar, so that with preaching, teaching, and editing I hope to be able to get along snugly.

I like your subject for February 22d † very much. I should have sent my advice by express, had I not thought that you were too prudent a man to ask advice before your mind was fully made up. Besides my advice could only have been thrown into the balance in favor of the side on which you had already determined.

I shall be much obliged to you to lend me "Faust." In spite of your mournful forebodings I shall need it now. I can read Schiller, Olshausen, Lisco, and I'll read Faust if you'll send it. I have been perfectly savage on the German. I have breakfasted, dined, supped, yea slept on it. Lend me, I pray you, all the German you can. The greater the variety of my stores the greater will be my temptation to devour.

* There was a long dispute between Great Britain and the United States concerning the territory of Oregon. In 1846 a settlement was reached by a treaty concluded between the two countries.

† A Lecture of Dr. Charles Philip Krauth on Moses and Washington, delivered on the anniversary of Washington's Birthday, at the request of the Union Total Abstinence Society, Gettysburg, 1846. Printed by H. C. Neinstedt.

FIFTH CHAPTER.

THE SYNOD OF MARYLAND. ESSAY ON THE REAL PRESENCE.

1842-1845.

During the first years of his ministerial life Charles P. Krauth was in connection with the Synod of Maryland, one of the oldest Lutheran Synods in this country, which was organized, in 1820, as the Synod of Maryland and Virginia. It was also one of the original Synods constituting the General Synod. Having been licensed in 1841, he was ordained by this Synod at the meeting in Frederick, Md., October 19, 1842. Rev. J. G. Morris, D.D., preached from the text Jer. ii. 25. After the sermon C. P. Krauth, P. Willard, and W. F. Eyster were solemnly ordained to the holy office of the ministry by the laying on of hands of the Presbytery, and prayer; after which the Rev. Professor H. L. Baugher, of Pennsylvania College, delivered an impressive address to them. The ordination certificate, signed by John Winter, President, and Simeon W. Harkey, Secretary, bears the date of October 17, 1842. The list of clerical members at this meeting of the Synod of Maryland contains twenty-six names, among them J. D. Kurtz, B. Kurtz, S. Sprecher, J. G. Morris, F. W. Conrad, S. W. Harkey, Ezra Keller, G. Diehl, W. A. Passavant (licensed at that meeting). Naturally the agitation by which the Church was then disturbed, between the so-called "New Measure Men" and the Conservatives, or

"Symbolists," was strongly felt at the meetings of a Synod which contained such a number of prominent and representative men. Yet, withal, there seems to have been a comparatively strong conservative element in the Synod, which made it well-nigh impossible for the more radical part of the house to carry any extreme measures. The proposition made by Rev. S. W. Harkey, of Frederick, Md., for publishing a monthly periodical to be styled the *Revivalist*, to be devoted to the history and defence of genuine revivals of religion, revival intelligence, the best measures and means of promoting and managing revivals, was declared "inexpedient" on motion of Professor H. L. Baugher. At the same time Dr. B. Kurtz, of Baltimore, editor of the *Lutheran Observer*, and the advocate of the wildest Revivalism and New Measure Religionism, proposed the appointment of a committee to draft a minute expressive of the views of Synod in regard to "New Measures." Drs. Kurtz, Morris, and S. W. Harkey constituted the committee, and their report was discussed for two days, when, on motion of Rev. F. W. Conrad, it was referred back to the committee. At the next meeting of Synod the committee asked to be excused from the further consideration of the subject, which was granted. In 1844 Professor H. L. Baugher, Dr. B. Kurtz, and Rev. S. W. Harkey were appointed a committee to prepare an "Abstract of the Doctrines and Practice of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Maryland." The fourteen doctrinal articles of this "abstract" not only avoid or contradict the distinctive features of the Lutheran Confession, but have a decided savor of Arminianism and Pelagianism. "*Of man's ability*," it is stated:

We believe that the Scriptures teach that God has

given to man, as a natural gift, the power of choice, and that whilst he is influenced in his volitions by motives, he always possesses the ability to choose the opposite of that which was the object of his choice. God, in his providence and grace, places before man the evil and the good, urging him by the most powerful considerations to choose the latter and reject the former. When the sinner yields to God, that is regeneration.

This last sentence is omitted in the copy of this abstract published in the *Lutheran Observer*, November 27, 1846.

Of the *Sacraments* it is said:

We believe that the Scriptures teach that there are but two sacraments, viz.: Baptism and the Lord's Supper, in each of which truths essential to salvation are symbolically * represented. We do not believe that they exert any influence *ex opere operato*, but only through the faith of the believer. Neither do the Scriptures warrant the belief that Christ is present in the Lord's Supper in any other than a spiritual manner.

Of the Symbolical Books. Luther's larger and smaller Catechisms, the Formula Concordiæ, Augsburg Confession, Apology and Schmalkald Articles are called, in Germany, the Symbolical Books of the Church. We regard them as good and useful exhibitions of truth, but do not receive them as binding on the conscience, except so far as they agree with the Word of God.

" This we say of all," is added by C. P. K.'s hand.

This report was first recommitted, and, in 1846, was laid on the table and indefinitely postponed. The *Lutheran Observer* referred to it in an extended editorial (November 27, 1846), and printed it in full, with a few

* The word " symbolically " is stricken out by C. P. K. in his copy of the " Abstract."

slight alterations and omissions. We quote from this article as follows:

When asked what Lutherans believe, the question is not always so easily answered to the satisfaction of the inquirer. We may refer him to books, confessions, catechisms, etc.; but the proponent, most probably, has neither inclination nor time to hunt up and examine such authorities. He desires to be told in a few words, distinctly and definitely, what is the prevailing belief in the Lutheran Church on all fundamental points of religious truth. A short tract, a page or two comprehending an epitome of the doctrines and usages of the mass of Lutheran Christians in the United States is what would suit him. Is there anything of this kind to be found in the Church? The want of it has long been felt and expressed. From the North and the South, the East and the West, we have been asked for something of this nature. The question assumed such importance that it was finally agitated some two years ago in the Synod of Maryland, and afterward in the General Synod (1846), held in Philadelphia. In both instances committees were appointed to draw up and report an abstract of our "doctrine and practice." The committee appointed by the Maryland Synod complied; and though the "abstract" itself was approved, the Synod, for reasons which we have not time at present to explain, did not think proper to adopt the report and recommend it to the Church. The committee was composed of some of our most intelligent and valued ministers; when they had prepared it they sent a copy to every minister of the Synod, soliciting his emendations on the margin, and after its final return it was reprinted with the benefit of these emendations; and it is in this improved form that we now present it.

We find no difficulty in subscribing the document, and in presenting it as a fair, honest exhibition of Lutheran doctrine and practice as understood in the lati-

tude in which we reside; and if we are not greatly mistaken, the great mass of our American ministers throughout the land would not make any material objection to it.

This attempt to substitute such an "abstract" for the full and precise language of the Confession of the Church was a sort of forerunner of the famous "Definite Platform," which appeared about ten years afterward, and whose principal author, Professor S. S. Schmucker, in Gettysburg, was so much pleased with the "abstract" that he referred to it again and again in his lectures and articles, and even made his students commit to memory its principal statements. In an article on the "Vocation of the American Lutheran Church" (*Evangelical Review*, Vol. II., p. 510) he says:

"With the exception of several minor shades of doctrine, in which we are more Symbolic than Dr. Baugher, we could not ourselves, in so few words, give a better description of the views taught in the seminary (Gettysburg) than that contained in his 'Abstract of the Doctrines and Practice,' etc. No ground of apprehension as to our seminary, since the doctrines of *our* symbols and the *prevailing* doctrines of our *American Church* are here faithfully taught."

It was at the meeting of the Maryland Synod in Middletown, 1844, that Charles P. Krauth was appointed to deliver a sermon on the Lutheran view of the Lord's Supper at the next meeting of Synod. Whether the articles on this topic by Professor Moses Stuart, of Andover, published in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* of 1843 and 1844, had anything to do with this appointment of the Maryland Synod, we are unable to say, and are inclined to doubt it. But Charles P. Krauth, in his study of this

subject, took up those articles and reviewed them, and his work on the Real Presence is therefore to be considered in close connection with the essays of the Andover professor.

In 1843 Professor Moses Stuart had written an exegetical essay on 1 Cor. xi. 17-34, in which he treated very briefly of the "Real Presence" of Christ in the Lord's Supper. This was followed by a more extensive paper entitled "Patristical and Exegetical Investigation of the question respecting the real bodily presence of Christ in the elements of the Lord's Supper." (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1844, February and May, pp. iii. and 225.)

At the head of his remarks he places two "leading and principal passages of the New Testament, on which dependence is placed and great stress laid by the advocates of the real presence for the maintenance of their cause." The passages are Luke xxii. 19, 20; and John vi. 53-56; though John vi. 53-56 does not, according to the interpretation of Lutheran divines, treat directly of the *sacramental* partaking of Christ's body and blood. See Dr. C. P. Krauth's "Conservative Reformation," p. 598.

Speaking of the Lutherans in the history of the Doctrine of the real presence, Professor Stuart says:

> The Lutherans as a body have hitherto believed in the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacramental elements. Their mode of expressing it has been, that Christ's body and blood are *in*, *with*, and *under* the elements of the eucharist; while, at the same time, they do not deny that these elements still preserve unchanged their attributes as bread and wine.
>
> I should not do justice to the Lutheran Church of recent times if I did not say, that many within its precincts have loudly called in question the old doctrine of Luther and his compeers and successors, in respect to consub-

stantiation. The battle has been fought of late with great power; and scarcely a doubt remains, that the more enlightened of the Lutherans are either renouncing his views, or coming to the position that they are not worth contending for. In this country such is clearly the case. Dr. S. S. Schmucker, the able and excellent exponent of the Lutheran theology in this country, in his work, called "Popular Theology," has told us, that they are "settled down in the happy conviction, that on this, and on all other subjects not clearly determined by the inspired volume, her sons shall be left to follow the dictates of their own conscience, having none to molest or to make them afraid" (p. 255). The great body of Lutheran divines among us, according to the same writer, doubt or deny the corporeal or physical presence of Christ in the elements of the eucharist.

It is not difficult to predict, that ere long the great mass of well-informed Lutherans, at least in this country, will be substantially united, in regard to this subject, with the other Reformed Churches.

Professor Stuart utterly failed to grasp the Lutheran doctrine of the Real Presence. To him it is identical with consubstantiation or impanation, which errors have always been strenuously rejected by sound Lutheran theologians. After thus misrepresenting the teaching of the Church of the Augsburg Confession, he eloquently speaks of his "wonder at the power of superstitious notions and the zeal and obstinacy with which they are defended! When men get into this predicament, they generally try to make up by zeal and obstinacy, what is wanting in reason and argument. As this is the only way in which they can retain their position, one may expect that they will be very much in earnest. I think it would not be far from the truth if I should say that outrageous disputes, vituperative dis-

course, reproachful appellations, dark suspicions, and zeal to find or make heretics, yea, and to burn them too, proceed almost entirely from those who have a weak cause to maintain, and have planted themselves on the basis of imaginary orthodoxy, or of metaphysical or superstitious conceit." In Dr. Charles P. Krauth's library the copy of *Bibliotheca Sacra* from which these quotations are made is frequently interlined with pencil marks and annotations from his hand.

Against the views advanced by the venerable "Nestor of American Theology," young Charles P. Krauth, at the age of twenty-one, wrote the following (unpublished)

NOTES FOR A REVIEW OF PROF. STUART'S ARTICLE ON THE PRESENCE OF CHRIST IN THE SUPPER.

Though the views of Professor Stuart are opposed to the standards of the Lutheran Church, the appearance of his article is yet encouraging to those who love the truth. It shows at least that the Nestor of our American Theology, that venerable man who justly stands so high in the grateful regard of all American Christians, does not think the disputed subject too trifling, too essentially absurd for a sensible man to trouble himself about it. The prevailing feeling in this country is, that a doctrine which is as fully entitled as any in the Christian system to the name universal, which the mass of the greatest theologians of all ages of the Church have embraced, is too silly to be thought of. It is dismissed with contempt. Its very mention is dismissed with a sneer. A doctrine believed by a large portion of the world to be scriptural, and certainly lying at the very threshold of Christian History, is spoken of as a Romish corruption, and the firm believer in it is regarded as one who hankers after the flesh-pots of Egypt (see Zwingli).

In some respects Professor Stuart may be regarded as one well adapted to the investigation of this topic. We

believe him to be a lover of truth, a firm believer in the inspiration of God's Word, a man of logical cast of mind, not naturally passionate, and with the solidity and judgment of age.

In others we think him unfitted for a thorough discussion of it. His intellect is dry and frigid, his conception of reason limited, and all the habits of the northern mind and the whole current of Puritan sentiment would weigh against a dispassionate examination of this subject. And, respectfully and affectionately as we would speak of his learning—and in its sphere for our shores it is very great—we yet are forced to say that every page of this article shows that its learning is neither extensive nor mature. Professor Stuart has evidently not given for any length of time his attention to the matter, and has written the article, not as a channel for the information, but has gleaned up, and sometimes very hastily, the information in order to write the article. In a "Patristical investigation" of this great question it will not do to take some manual of dogmatic history and glean from its meagre quotations a few shreds torn from their connection, and from these deduce the sentiment of the Father, or show that he contradicts himself. The subject must be approached with something more than the desire to write an article about it; and unless a man has determined to examine it thoroughly and express no opinion until he has got to the bottom of it, whatever may be his learning, it would be well for him to leave it untouched.

"The times," Professor Stuart well says, "call loudly for more information and more discussion in regard to the subject of the real presence of Christ in the eucharistic emblems." One thing is certain, that the question is not yet settled. In the Church of England there has been a great movement in which the restoration of this doctrine has borne a prominent part. In Germany, with the revival of orthodoxy and spiritual life, this doctrine has reappeared with a vigor equal to that of its most

earnest days. In the Reformed Communion there has been a drawing in the same direction, a disposition to return to the original ground of Calvin, which is as much above the view that prevails among Calvinists in this country as Lutheranism is above the original Calvinistic view. And in the American Lutheran Church, in some parts of which there had been an abandonment of the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession, there is an awakening too manifest to be mistaken, and whose tendency is toward the doctrine of a true sacramental presence.

This introduction is followed by a detailed statement from page to page of the points in the article to which he takes exception.

At the time when these "Notes" were written, the author had been industriously at work for weeks and months to gather all the available material and to study the whole range of this vast theme. He first drew a fragmentary sketch of "A Historical Outline of the Doctrine of the Real Presence improperly known in popular divinity as 'Consubstantiation,' and associated with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Augsburg Confession, purified under God by Luther;" and afterward he wrote out a full essay on "The Lutheran View of the Real Presence in the Lord's Supper." From the former we gather the following extracts. After stating the views of Calvin and Zwingli on this subject, he asks the question: *Are we truly Lutherans?* and answers:

It cannot be denied that the name Lutherans in this country simply states a historical fact without giving in any case a sure index to the views, feelings, or practices of those who bear it. The name should certainly imply some reference to the Augsburg Confession. But even this reference, if the truth be told, is hardly a distinction. What we say of it, we will say of the thirty-nine articles

or of the Westminster Confession, or their advocates could say of ours. . . . The truth in regard to American Lutheranism is that beyond doubt it is a title that has not expressed a unity. The extremes included under the name have differed more from each other, than they have from what approached each of them most nearly, outside the walls of the Augsburg Confession. And the reason has been that the Lutheranism of this land, if we may concede it to be the offspring of European Lutheranism, has certainly suffered its head to be compressed and its feet to be annihilated by every Flat-head and Chinese manipulator who chose to busy himself in the improving of the body. It is a perfect Arabia, a mixed multitude of the Ishmaelitic character, "every man's hand against his brother."

Speaking of the fathers of Lutheran Theology in the Reformation Era, he says: "There was a reverent and deep spirit of faith in our fathers. They walked as men who saw the invisible. They set the word of the living God before them and made it their guide, and never did theology so nearly mean the same as religion, as in the days of the Reformation."

At the close of these random notes the case between the adherents and opponents of the "real presence" is put in the following characteristic statement:

1. The Bible is infallible.
   In this both agree.
2. If the Bible teaches a Real Presence, then there is a Real Presence.
   In this both agree.
3. If the particular passage in dispute be interpreted literally, the Real Presence is taught.
   In this both agree.

4. The passage should be interpreted literally.
   Here they divide and the counter-assertion is made, that it must be interpreted as a metaphor.

From the full text of an article, covering over one hundred pages in manuscript, of which only a small section was published in the *Lutheran Observer*, May, 1846, the following extracts are given as worthy of special consideration:

THE LUTHERAN VIEW OF THE REAL PRESENCE IN THE LORD'S SUPPER.

We believe that the time has arrived when the question what the Lutheran Church is and the associated question what she has been, must be answered—not evaded, but *answered*. It is not a fierce warfare nor a strong defence of her peculiarities that is needed, but a full statement of what these peculiarities are, and a calm historical induction of the proofs that such have been her features. Especially are such an investigation and statement demanded in regard to her doctrine of the sacramental presence, the subject of more ignorance, falsehood and obloquy than perhaps any she has ever cherished. We wish most distinctly to assert that on the question of the correctness or falseness of that view we do not design to say one word. We are not supposing it either true or false; we only purpose showing what it is and how it got the position it occupied. We wish simply to utter our convictions on certain historical facts, on whose truths we believe that men who have examined the subject, whatever may be their views of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, fully agree.

But previous to using the term "Lutheran View" we must define it. When we say that a view is Lutheran, we do not mean that it was invented by Luther or coeval

with him. The Lutheran Church receives no view admitted to be such, for with her novelty in doctrine is equivalent to falseness. On the Lord's Supper she believes her view to be that of Christ and His Apostles, and not first discovered in the New Testament by Luther, but seen there and received by the great majority of eminent Christian teachers in every age. Make Luther the *author* of a doctrine, and the Church not only does not but cannot receive it.

Nor when we say that a view is Lutheran do we mean that *all* who have borne the name Lutherans have held it. There is a wide and obvious distinction between a view held by Lutherans and a Lutheran view, as there is between a view held by Christians and a Christian view. The mere fact that many Lutherans hold a particular view no more proves it to be a Lutheran view, than the fact that one Lutheran holds it. If half Germany that is called Lutheran denies the proper Deity of Christ or the real inspiration of the Word of God, these views thereby are not made Lutheran, any more than it is a Lutheran view that the Devil comes in the form of a large fly, and may be sorely battered with an inkstand well aimed. The truth is not only that no part of the Church can now make a Lutheran view where one already exists, but that the *whole* Church cannot do it. The Lutheran view is a great historical fact, it is beyond the reach of omnipotence to change, it is absolute, it is not capable of change. The Lutheran Church may make what changes she pleases in her view, but she cannot say of the offspring of her knowledge or her ignorance: "This is the Lutheran view." She may say: This is the view of Lutherans, of some, of many, or of all, but she can say no more. The Lutheran view is that set forth in the Formula proposed at Augsburg, received by the whole Church at the beginning of her distinctive existence. It is the view which she adopted on the greatest question, a view without subscription to which she allowed no fellowship to the Zwinglian party, a view which the Zwing-

lians refused to adopt, on which the separation took place, a view which made the Church Lutheran in contradistinction to Reformed.

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There are in our own land many willing to repudiate the *whole* doctrine and to deny that it is properly associated with our Church. But Rome is not more distinctively connected with the doctrine that the Pope is supreme, or the Calvinistic Churches with the absolute decree of God's predestination, than the Lutheran Church is with the doctrine of the sacramental presence and oral reception of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist.

The Lutheran view is that which distinguishes the Lutheran Church on this point, where she is at all distinguished. If she should adopt the view of other churches, then she ceases to have any distinctive view. The expression of the distinctively Lutheran view is to be found in the Augsburg Confession: "That the body and blood of Christ are truly present and distributed to those who partake of the Lord's Supper."

The Lutheran view is not chargeable with absurdity. In the interpretation of Scripture, all sound Christians go on the principle that we are to believe not what is most easy to believe *a priori*, but what seems to be taught. It may be easier to believe in a trinity than a unity, but the Christian's gauge is not his own intellectual ease, but the sure teachings of the Spirit of Jehovah. Human views and dreams vary with the spirit and the philosophy of every age and nation. If these be the standard there is no truth, no basis for our trust.

These questions are asked:

1. How was Luther led to form his distinctive view?
2. What prevented him from surrendering it?
3. In what form did his followers retain it, and why did they cling to it?

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We must look with candor at the character of the great reformers and divines who played a part in this contention. Luther must be looked at in his deep and absorbing faith, which, with the nursing in the cradle of monastic dreams, may perhaps make him sometimes credulous, his mighty and daring firmness sometimes leading him to the verge of harshness and dogmatism, his seething and resistless energy hurrying him from action to action, leaving him no time to polish or refine what he wrote, which might lead him, when combined with strong self-will, to contend with his whole soul for what meant the truth to his mind, but hardly conveyed it to others.

We must see Melanchthon in the mildness which sometimes became a weakness, strong indeed when his views were made up, but not strong in making them up, with literary tastes which sometimes might interfere with theological truthfulness and exactness.

There too is Zwingli, who, having hurled from his bosom with such power of conviction, such closeness of demonstration, her on whose forehead is written mystery, dreaded perhaps too much wherever he saw the name written, that the heart and head and brow of the drunken harlot had been there, who might sometimes confound the mystery of iniquity and the mystery of godliness, and in the contest for reason so abused and degraded, might seat her, for the sake of security, for a time on a throne which belonged not to her.

Here, too, is Calvin, who, some say, came in thick clouds; but who, all say, came with the lightning. His was a mind so gigantic that perhaps he was illy fitted to feel the weaknesses and to enter into the wants of lesser men. Others were in the plain, and when they looked up, they saw above the blackness of the clouds only, which hid the sun. He was on the mountain top, and the clouds which were above their heads, were beneath his feet. They were but a relief to the effulgence of the sun which he saw shining in his glory above them. His

was a logical precision which not only knew that a straight line is the nearest between two points, but knew also always how to draw it. There was a depth of religious feeling whose lowest point perhaps was gloom, combined with a temperament as vivid and impassioned as that of Luther, but without its restlessness "unrelieved by its gentle and domestic impulses, or its passionate sensibility to the beauty and glory of the frame of nature" (Audin).

Each of these great men fairly embodies a great class of religious peculiarities living and reproduced in lesser and fainter images, not only in every church, but in every congregation. They were four mirrors of truth under four forms. Each of them must be regarded in the double point of view, as made by the spirit of their age, and then returning with rich interest what they had received, and turning their individualties into the bosoms of millions.

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The orthodox era followed by Neology.

At the time of the Reformation the boldest, simplest, and deepest theology was given to the world which has ever been seen. During the act of imparting it, vigor of the highest kind was displayed. Unhappily succeeding generations inherited their ideas without following the process by which they were secured. The antiquity of the weapon, and the good service it had done in its day, were thought sufficient to recommend its use; though not only had rust dimmed the blade, but the whole science of war completely changed. The treasury was drawn on, not for a reinvestment of the funds, where the five pounds might gain other five, but as though the principal not only was exhaustless, but absolutely incapable of diminution.

The great standards were a purse of Fortunatus, which might be shaken and shaken forever and gold continue still to fall. The consequence was that truth

was sometimes worsted, though surrounded by brave troops and sustaining the most sacred cause. She came on the field with sword and spear and bow, to fight against those who had gunpowder, and who waged against her, weapons of a newer form, the gun and the culverin. She borrowed to carry on the war until she was in bondage to the lenders. The weapons were turned back which once flashed in victory, and the uncircumcised Philistine defied the armies of the living God.

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We dare not deny that, wretched and false as was the Neology which incited the conflict in the bosom of the Church, it had its mission. It came from God as does the earthquake, the pestilence, or the roaring and tempestuous sea, in which many a gallant ship goes down. It came from God, a terrific remedy for a terrific evil. There was a time when our Church was in danger of dying of pure dignity, when her limbs had grown rigid in a protracted, almost mortal attack of self-complacency. "This is the house that Martin built": the door was locked with orthodoxy and barred with creeds; a barrier of theoretic divinity was put snugly across every window, and a catechism of admirably proportioned dimensions secured every big box and many a little one, which was not worth the pains. Now she was snugly housed and could laugh at the storm howling without; she could regard with a sacred pity her unfortunate sisters who were not so sheltered. It was a delicious slumber into which she fell, and a soft dream from which she was awakened to find the robber in her own family, vho had conspired with her own children, picked the locks, flung open windows and doors, battered the strong boxes and knocked to pieces the weak; who, after dragging garment after garment from the worm-eaten wardrobe, greeting each one as it appeared with unbounded laughter, threatened to eject her from her own home, or if she made resistance to the felony, to destroy her very life. *The Church has never slept since.*

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The very heart and essence of Deism is that it rejects the Bible, but such is not the case with Neology; and by this negative feature it is distinguished from every other form of infidelity. Where it does reject the Word of God it does not thus distinguish itself from Deism, but confuses and effaces the lines of separation. Distinctive Deism regards the Bible without interest; distinctive Neology may regard it as the book of most absorbing interest in the world. But it treats it simply and solely as furnishing an outlet to mental activity. Hence, though Neology be negative, it is far less so than Deism; nor has it the absolute and fixed character of the latter. Deists have a creed of great unity, pith and simplicity: "God did not make the Bible." But Neology has as diversified and fanciful a character as can be imparted to it by the intellectual freaks of its votaries. One star does not differ from another in glory more than one Neologist differs from another in the degree of his shame. Their house is divided against itself, and if they can succeed in casting out devils, it must be by the name of Beelzebub, for it is the only one on which they can call. From this contrariety it has happened, that in all the recent controversies the weapons of one class of Neologists have been employed with great success against another, as, for example, in the Christology of Hengstenberg.

This characteristic relieves the danger in one direction only to increase it in another. Whilst Neology may be less pernicious on the individual than Deism, it may, by its subtler, more variable and infusible character, impenetrate and leaven larger masses and accomplish a greater aggregate of mischief—as alcohol is less deadly than arsenic, and yet it is the more dangerous of the two. Whilst no Christian can be said to be deistical, it cannot be doubted that many of the greatest, and, on the whole, soundest writers since the era of Neology, have shown its influence on their writings in many forms. To the Bible the Neologist comes to find an intellectual

quickener, and no more. He will give to it time and toil; he will talk on it and write about it; he will make discoveries or correct errors in it; but with the pure work of the brain his object is fulfilled. This form of the reaction would show, had we no other light, where part of the wrong tendency had hitherto been. It would prove, if the principle be a just one with which we started, that the Bible had been too much set aside from its position as a grand centre of intellectual activity. It had become a Hagarine covenant, gendering to bondage. The symbols fixed its meaning on disputed points, and there the contest was expected to close. But the Bible is the nurse of freedom; it is not the stake to which broken and slavish spirits are to be chained, but where they may rally, and from which they may go forth in their might. It is not a pitiful bird-fancier which consigns to dainty cages, to artificial and involuntary fare, its drooping victims, to pipe melancholy monotony, to nibble the same lump and stare at the same walls and faces forever. It is designed not only to enable us, like the eagle, to look farthest into heaven, but to endow with a strong and free wing which can bear us there.

The subtle precision of metaphysical or theological terms, so soon as they are brought in, not to *define* our views, but to *make* them, converts the Bible into a stifler where it is designed to kindle. No wonder that Luther raged like a baited lion among the yelping curs, foaming philosophy at their poisonous jaws; or like a lion wild with rage over the remains of his compeer, mumbled the bones of Aristotle. And he would have raged still more had he anticipated to what extent the spirit of refining by which philosophy had been withered, and was causing all which it enveloped to wither, would injure the Church which bore his name. The counter movement whose eventual issue will be, we trust, a greater simplicity and a more exclusive biblical character, not so much in the doctrines of our Church as in the form in which they are stated, has been wild, daring, and licen-

tious. But when the smoke shall have rolled from the battle-field, He that sitteth in the heavens will still be found upon His throne, renewing in this contest the proof which He has given in all, that the "wrath of men shall praise Him and the remainder of wrath shall He restrain." *

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The Lutheran Church.

In the mean and petty strife of partisanship, as well within the American Lutheran Church as outside, it has been usual to draw comparisons between our Church and others, to pass censures without regard to circumstances, where we seemed behind them, and where we varied from them, too readily to concede that we were in the wrong and they in the right. The world has never seen, no, not in the days of the Apostles, a purer piety, a deeper faith than that which has been nursed in the bosom of the Evangelical [Lutheran] Church. Profounder learning has never brought its treasures to the Saviour's feet. And what seems to be faulty is explained and palliated by the fact that Lutheranism has been too wide-spread, its mission addressed to wants too various and peculiar, to permit her to sacrifice the proportions of the Church to a rigid uniformity.

In our own land she harmonizes the two contending principles which threaten the prosperity of all widely extended communions—enthusiasm for the past and enthusiasm for the present and future. The Bond is in the Augsburg Confession. The freedom and harmony are in these words: "We believe the *fundamental* doctrines of the Bible to be taught in a manner *substantially* correct." We never have defined, and we venture to predict never can absolutely define either of these terms. They are the seal and signature of our freedom. They form themselves a substantially correct exhibition of a doctrine more fundamental than any of the few in the

* See "The Characteristics of Neology," *Lutheran Observer*, May 15, 1846.

confession which are the subjects of dispute. With them, we are satisfied, the Symbol itself in this land must stand or fall.

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How did Luther form his Opinion?

His education was remarkably suited to develop that profound principle of reverence, which was a portion of his very soul. The man who was so free was not licentious in his freedom. The errors of a past age did not lead him with contempt to cast from him all that they could give. He came with a spirit of earnest gratitude for what they had done, and requiring in every distinct case, evidence of corruption and departure from the precepts of the Bible, before he cast off their authority or denied the propriety of their usages. There are men who not only would drive out the changers of money, the sellers of oxen and doves, but would that the temple itself should be razed to its foundations because it had been so profaned. A popular religious writer has attempted to reduce the peculiarities of the Calvinistic and Lutheran Churches to this epigrammatic form:

The Calvinists held that nothing should be retained unless it could be proved to be right from the Bible; the Lutherans, that nothing should be relinquished, unless from the same source it could be shown to be wrong. Like all epigrams, this is deficient in exactness, but it will serve as an illustration of Luther's true position. His was no lawless lust of change. He would rather, far rather, have been poor brother Martin, an humble member of the Catholic Church, pure, and with the charm of her ancient simplicity and innocence, than Luther, the head of the Reformed, the maker of an Era, the demiurge in the creation of a new world. Luther not only did not confound Catholicism with the Papacy, but he did not even blend together in one consideration Roman Catholicism and Papal Catholicism. Luther never was, and would have regarded with horror the

thought of being, a Protestant in the sense of one who protests against the Church. And in the admission of all, Romanism—as gross in its superstition, but with constitutional life to counteract the progress of disease—was the Church. It was not whether Romanism should be saved or lost. Luther would have preferred that she should remain with her external entireness unbroken, with her sovereign rule unbroken, with her Bishop pre-eminent, if she could have been restored to the purity which, beyond doubt, she exhibited long after the development of her full and true proportions. For it is not simply error that makes a church corrupt, it is the legalized suppression of means to correct it. It is the hushing by power, the workings which would purify. Let Romanism to-morrow honestly open the way to the germination of truth within herself, let her but say: Now truth, perform thy work and change us if thou canst, and before one error had been corrected, before her triple-crowned thunderer had laid aside a single bull, before her Mass had ceased to be muttered, with her celibacy, her superstition, with *all*, we should hail her as a sister, we should thank God that we were permitted to receive again to our affections one whom we wished to love, but who would not heretofore let us. Ah! Rome, Rome, thy Father and thy Brother foresaw thy harlotry, and with the vision which they gave made the Apocalyptic prophet weep sore. Drunken now with the blood of the saints in thine adulterous banqueting, make but one step in thy return to the house of our common Father, one hearty resolution to return if thou canst be shown thine error, and He will receive thee, we will receive thee. He will train thee again for that purer, brighter mission from which thou hast fallen so far.

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Luther's was a profoundly reverential nature; his heart yearned for that which was *fixed and deep*. Fixed and deep, and he began with a system which was fixed, but *not* deep, and the Spirit of the living God led him to

what was fixed *and* deep. His faith was his treasure-house, and no miser could be more unwilling to have it proven that one of his broad gold pieces was counterfeit coin, than was he to find that his belief had been.

I will offer, said he, this defence at the very bar of the Son of God: O Lord Jesus Christ, a controversy was agitated and a contest arose concerning the words of Thy Testament. Some contended that these words were to be understood other than in their own and native meaning they sound. I could not, and I would not, entrust my faith in a controversy so weighty, to the various waves of opinions and interpretations which were tossed one against the other; and he adds a sentiment which proves, if we need a proof of his sense of the *sufficiency* of the Scriptures: "For if Thou hadst wished those words to be understood other than they sound, *doubtless* Thou wouldst have added a clear and explicit declaration, as Thou hast done in places where mistake is connected with no such danger as in the words of Thy Testament."

The Testimony of the Church.

There is not in ecclesiastical testimony one disputed doctrine on which the testimony of the Church has varied so little, and has been so continued and so universal as on this, that there is *a real presence* of Christ, as distinguished from a spiritual one, in the Eucharist, and that the medium of communication with the entire person of Christ is by the Sacramental emblems.

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Behold Luther, with the conservative tendencies on which we have dwelt, standing amidst a cloud of witnesses, not the corrupt slaves of the Papacy, but the brightest and the best to whom the heart of the common church turns with confidence and love. There stood the venerable Augustine, first of the Latins and dearest to the heart of Luther, his guide to the heart of Paul. Chrysostom, first of the Greeks, not only holding to the

real presence, but in the precise form agreeing with that of Luther, as distinguished from the peculiar theory of the Romish Church entitled Transubstantiation.

(On the other hand, the dangers of fanaticism in Luther's time are pointed out over against the conservatism of Luther.)

It is a misapprehension based on a complete ignorance of his character to suppose that Luther either had a love of new views or was inclined to rush to conclusions on any subject. He moved with caution almost excessive. Where his convictions were clear, he was impetuous in their defence, but he was not impetuous in forming his convictions. And on this very question he was peculiarly jealous of himself, lest his strong feelings against the errors of Rome might lead him to attack, in the contest, the truths which she still retained.

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Carlstadt was a fanatic if there ever lived one on earth. Though he had, we believe, a real and conscientious religious character which kept him from immoralities, we do not think he had a religious judgment soberer than the founders of Mount Zion in Münster. Melanchthon and Luther both speak of his preposterous desire to be at the head of affairs. The Reformed Church, with which he was afterward associated, grew disgusted with him. Restless and heedless, he plunged the Church into a controversy which has not yet subsided.

Zwingli was inclined to a mode of interpretation whose dangerous features might be a rationalizing tendency. It was certainly a daring departure from the standard of theological orthodoxy of that day, to ascribe to the sages of the heathen world a participation in the Holy Ghost, and grant them a place in heaven. In the heat of controversy Zwingli was charged with Pelagianism, not on good grounds, nor yet without some grounds.

Calvin too had a freedom of interpretation which led him without hesitance to reject the received interpretations of various points of the Bible, especially of the proof-texts of the Trinity from the Old Testament, and the Messianic prophecies. These tendencies, dangerous without a check, were providentially controlled. (Merle d'Aubigné's "Calvin and Luther Compared.")

Most persons feel surprised when they learn how long, how intricate, and how violent was the Sacramentarian controversy. They are not aware that it is not one question but many, that the view which we have of it materially affects the whole system of religion, and that of the two great questions on which the Reformed and Lutherans divided, the real presence and predestination, this is the more important. It seems to us to go to the very centre of the doctrine of the person of Christ, to involve the whole peculiarity of the Incarnation, and to concern intimately the definiteness, if not the very existence, of the Christian's hope in regard to the continual presence, sympathy, and succor of our great High Priest. Luther's view was not forced into being by controversy, but was formed before Carlstadt kindled the flame, and Œcolampadius and Zwingli, at the head of what Luther regarded as Sacramentarian errorists, sounded the charge.

The position he defended was that in, with, and under the elements of bread and wine, the true and substantial body of Christ, incorruptible, is presented and received by the mouth. "Here I stand," Luther would say; "if it be Christ's promise He will perform it. The greater the promise the more like Christ." He felt no more difficulty in believing Christ when He seemed to say that He would give His body and blood, than would others in believing that He would give emblems of them.

After all the time and labor devoted to this subject no opportunity was given to the youthful author to deliver his discourse. At the meeting of the Maryland Synod in

Washington (October 17 to 21, 1845) "Brother C. P. Krauth was excused from delivering the appointed sermon on the Lutheran View of the Real Presence in the Lord's Supper, from the fact that there was no special occasion for its delivery."

He wrote to his father on this subject as follows (October 28, 1845):

My discourse on the Lord's Supper was not delivered, and it is so cumbrous that I do not know precisely what to do with it. But if no portion of it ever reaches the public eye I shall still feel that I have not lost either labor or time. Its length and unfitness for a popular audience induced the Synod to dispense with its presentation. A subsequent motion was made to have it read before the pastoral association. This I was not unwilling to do, though I had no great fancy for it. Dr. Kurtz was evidently by no means desirous to have it produced, whether from a secret objection to any one being long-winded except himself, or a lurking suspicion that I was *too sound* on the subject, I do not pretend to say. The first was quite formidable enough, but he might have dismissed the latter apprehension. I shall never be able to believe in the *substantial* presence of Christ's body and blood in, with, and under the elements. But my conviction became very clear, in the process of investigation, that our views of Christ's presence are tending to the other and far more dangerous extreme, and that for His personal and distinct official character, the disposition is to infuse a vague and Unitarian idea of divine ubiquity. I believe that where Christ promises to be with the two or three gathered together in His name, and with His ministers until the consummation of this era, He means to designate something different from the Father and the Holy Ghost, or something distinct from that presence of His own which may be predicated of Him as invariable and universal. I think it entirely correct to say

that there is a real presence of Christ's whole nature, the human body and soul, as well as the Godhead, throughout His kingdom, and that we may very properly characterize this as a peculiar presence. There is a presence peculiar to His people when assembled, a presence peculiar to His ministers, a presence peculiar to His supper. Whether the peculiarity in each case is simply a moral one, arising from the condition into which each properly puts the believer, is a difficult question; but my impression is that in this peculiarity in each case the Son of God is implicated as well as His people.

The presence of a soul I would say is constituted by the power of direct consciousness through the proper organs. The presence of the body is constituted by the direct consciousness of the soul with which it is united. Believing that it is an essential consequence of the incarnation, that the human soul of Christ is the true seat of His knowledge and consciousness, I believe that we must speak of His body as present whenever that consciousness exercises itself in direct acts. But I believe that by the union of the divine nature this soul has direct consciousness of all things, is consequently properly present in all places, and of course thus the associated body is present also. This strips the idea of all that is mystical, and bases the real presence of Christ on a thought, which a child can as readily lay hold of, if it be presented with simplicity, as a philosopher or divine. It defines the presence of Christ on a ground common to Him and to all men, and secures, what I am perfectly persuaded the popular teachings on the whole subject of His presence do not secure, the distinctness of the natures in the unity of His person. The Word made flesh is not now a nullity, and there is an inexpressible power in the doctrine that the great High Priest has borne our nature into the true Holy of Holies.

Since my views have been clear and simple on this point, I have felt more boldness in coming to the throne of grace. If it behooved Him in all things to be made

like " unto His brethren that He might be a faithful and merciful High Priest," we must not break the bond by which alone we are bound to Him in that nature in which sympathy and oneness of flesh and blood is available or possible. This view, while it destroys the impossible figment of the presence of the substance of a human body in many places at one time, and holds that the heavens have received our Master until the time of the restitution of all things, secures all that is precious in the belief of the first, all that is supposed to be gained by the denial or torturing of the second.

SIXTH CHAPTER.

SHEPHERDSTOWN AND MARTINSBURG. WINCHESTER, VA.

1847–1852.

In August, 1847, Charles P. Krauth took charge of the congregation in Shepherdstown, Jefferson Co., Va., where Rev. Joseph A. Seiss had preceded him as pastor, and on November 7, the congregation of Martinsburg also united in a call to him "until April 1, 1848." Thus at the age of twenty-four he had charge of the same pastoral district which his father had occupied at the time of his birth. "The two towns are about ten miles apart and services were held on alternate Sundays, the journey between them being made on horseback. The charge was widely scattered and its care attended with much waste of time." (See Dr. B. M. Schmucker's "Memorial," p. 7.)

In Shepherdstown, early in 1848, the young pastor's family had to pass through its first ordeal of affliction in the death of little Susan on February 17, 1848. On the following day he wrote to his father: "Our dear little Susan died last night, about twenty minutes after seven. We had resigned her to God and thought that we should be able, with some composure, to bear the stroke; and we have truly, I believe, committed ourselves to Him and have felt His sustaining grace. But the blow is terrible. Never have I known before the bitterness of sor-

row. Every attention which kindness could prompt we have received. I leave this morning for Baltimore to deposit the remains of our little one in the family burial place of my wife. Pray for us, my dear father, for we need more than a mortal power to uphold us."

From Baltimore he wrote on the same day to his wife, referring to the hope which had been expressed in a letter of her mother, Mrs. Reynolds, that the little one would be better: She *is* better—blessed be our God that we know this assuredly. Let us with more than resignation, with joy, and triumph, give her to a Saviour's arms. Her sweet voice is now mingling with the songs of the redeemed. Perhaps she now prays for us, and looks back in love though not in longing, to her brief stay with us. She perhaps blesses us as the earthly authors of her being, and the means to her of that existence which is now to be spent in enduring bliss. We shall see her again, sweeter than when she faded like a stricken flower in our arms. Dearest Susan, do not mourn. You feel bound to me by sweeter and stronger ties. Ever in Christ and in love, yours, C.

After the death of little Susan the father writes (February 21, 1848):

You have our sincerest sympathy in your afflictions, the source and consolations of which you and our dear Susan know, and which we rejoice that you realize. Many evidences of the love of God to you, you have received; to these is now added the chastisement of His hand. The power of our blessed religion can be more fully appreciated by you now than before. The consolations you have ministered to others, you can now employ for your own support. It is in the endurance of trials, such as have come upon you, that a more lively sense of the adaptation of Christianity to our condition

is obtained. Its lustre beams forth in its support to its suffering friends. The minister of Jesus particularly needs experience in the school of sorrow. Often called upon to enter into the sorrows of others and to apply the provided lenitives, he is fitted for it by his own experience. Whilst God designs by His dealings with you to prepare you more and more for heaven, His purpose too is to qualify you for more efficient agency in the great work to which He has called you. May His grace be sufficient for you and your dear partner. May He bless to us all, whose interest in your child renders its removal an affliction, this dispensation of His providence!

A few months afterward (June 19, 1848), he wrote to his wife from Winchester:

You express a desire to be once more at home and settled. You put the query: How long? God only knows, my dear Susan, we may both be settled ere long where nothing will disturb our rest. We are pilgrims for eternity, and there we may rest long enough. If it be the will of God that we should have many changes, His will be done; why should we be taking trouble in advance, or measuring everything by the narrow principles of worldly policy? My dear wife, do you not know that you are "too much troubled about many things"? Let us secure more certainly the one thing needful, let us have our title more clear to a mansion in the skies, let us strive to reach the home of those loved ones who have gone before us, assured that whatever trials we may endure by the way, will be more than recompensed in the kingdom of our God. I feel more and more the sanctifying influence of the loss of our dear child. Her little spirit seems to be guiding me away from earth, and that sweet voice which had not learned an articulate language before it was silenced in death, seems ever to be speaking gently in my ear. O my lovely little Susan, nothing but the perfect assurance that thy ransomed spirit is with Jesus, and that thy precious little form, now

wasting in the grave, shall be raised again glorious and undying, could sustain me. No heart can enter into the secrets of another. Joy may be imparted, but grief is a treasure too sacred to share.

On March 1st the congregation at Winchester had sent him a unanimous call to become their pastor. In the spring of the year 1844 he had once preached in Winchester, and "was voted by two-thirds of them to be incomprehensible, the other third was asleep." This was his own view of the case as expressed in a letter to his sister Julia.

"Your sermon," writes the pastor loci a few weeks afterward, "created quite a sensation, and received on the one hand extreme and unlimited admiration and praise, and on the other only qualified approbation. As an intellectual production, all coincide in pronouncing it great. May I venture in all frankness to state my opinion of it? I was deeply interested in it and yet I was a little disappointed. It was a beautiful argument, an admirable performance, a treat to an intellectual audience, but it seemed to me not to have enough of Christ about it. It shot above the great majority of your hearers. It delighted a large number. It was not unintelligible to those who listened attentively and could think, though a great number, I fear, did not understand it. To sum up, it seemed to me to leave the congregation thinking rather more of Mr. K. than of 'Christ the end of the law for righteousness.'"

When the call reached him, he wrote to his father for advice. "I am pleased with my charge here, but I feel that it is utterly out of my power to do justice to it. Martinsburg and Shepherdstown ought not to be united. A large part of my time is consumed in riding about the country, and had I not a large stock of ser-

mons on hand I do not know how I should fare. I feel attracted toward Winchester."

He never had cause to regret the acceptance of this call. He was, as his father said, "in the right place." The period spent there was perhaps the happiest of his life, though not without sore domestic affliction. And even in later years he looked back to Winchester with feelings of the warmest and deepest attachment. "Memories of kindness the most touching, of social refinement, of sweet communion in Christ with those who loved Him, and loved me for my Master's sake, crowd upon me. I can hardly believe that there was a happier place on earth, than the Winchester of bygone years. There my heart had its most joyous pulsations; my happiness had no shadow upon it, save the thought, that it was too great to endure; there I shed my holiest tears. It will remain to me a home of remembrances, to which even in eternity my soul will look back."

Dr. B. M. Schmucker refers to this period in his Memorial (p. 8), in the following language: "At Winchester were passed some years which I think were the happiest of his life. Those years stand very distinctly present to my memory; we were near neighbors, had known each other from childhood, and had even inherited friendship from our fathers. I had entered my first pastorate as his successor, at his recommendation. We had a standing agreement each to spend a week with the other in every three months, our correspondence was regular and intimate, I was under infinite obligations to him, and formed then an affection which endured till death, and was never disturbed by one word or deed in all the years since then.

"The life within the household had even an idyllic beauty and sweetness, was then and ever since has been,

in my vision, as near perfectness as even the Christian household may well be in this world. The relation to the congregation and the labor within it, elevated by the zeal, devotion, and diligence of the pastor, and brightened and made happy by the appreciation, love, and care of the congregation, was full of peace and joy. The community at Winchester contained an unusually large proportion of persons of high intellectual and social culture and refinement, and by them all Mr. Krauth was greatly admired and appreciated. And his own intellectual life was marked by incessant activity; he was diligently acquiring in one sphere after another the stores of accurate knowledge which afterward gave him so high a place of honor among scholars.

"There was at that time a delightful usage among some neighboring congregations in Virginia, that each semi-annual administration of the Lord's Supper should be preceded by evening services for three days, in which another pastor assisted, remaining over Sunday, often closing his own church. In such services on sundry occasions I was united with him in his charge and in my own."

The correspondence with Rev. B. M. Schmucker, from which copious extracts are given below, reveals the warm attachment formed between the two friends, their devotion to the Church of their fathers, and the common literary and scholarly interests by which they were bound together, giving and receiving impulses for work which was to bear abundant fruit to the Church in years to come.

But with all his literary activity during this period, Charles P. Krauth did not neglect the details of his pastoral duties. He was a very faithful shepherd to his flock at Winchester, and the days of his pastorate were

marked by a steady growth and prosperity of the congregation. In 1850 the church building was improved at an expense of $2,000 and a new organ was purchased for $1,000. In 1851 a parsonage was purchased for $3,000. The faithfulness and systematic order with which he arranged and carried on his pastoral work is seen from a "Pastoral Record for the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Winchester, Va.," which he opened in the year 1849 with the following remarks: "I have felt the importance of keeping a regular record of pastoral visits, and of the topics spoken on and suggested whilst attending to them." The entries found in this record bear witness of the most direct and pointed pastoral dealing with all the persons he visited, and of great regularity in the visits paid to members of his congregation.

A special incident of his pastoral administration and which became the occasion for his discourse on "Popular Amusements," preached on the afternoon of Whitsunday, June 8, 1851, and afterward published, is related by himself in a letter to his wife in the following language: "I am just now in the midst of the greatest row it has ever been my fortune or misfortune to kick up. On Sunday last we had a very large congregation. The Episcopal church was closed, and the people came almost *en masse* to ours. I preached on the subject of conformity to the world, and of course had something to say in regard to fashionable amusements. I was tolerably strong on the subject of dancing, and when I dropped that went on to the subject of vulgar and obscene concerts. Hardly had the word passed my lips, when up rose a curly and fantastical looking specimen of the feminine gender—shaking her 'gory locks' most fearfully, and carrying with her out of the church two or three young men. This, instead of embarrassing,

stirred me up, and I spoke with all the distinctness and point which I could impart to the subject. Our community has been overrun with demoralizing exhibitions, and the mischiefs are becoming so apparent that it is high time for the pulpit to take a decided stand. I knew that it would do no good to say things softly, and by the grace of God I was enabled to say what, I have reason to know, has told powerfully upon this whole community. The persons who left proved to be the C. family. They clinched the nail I was trying to drive. The whole town has been in excitement. The mischief connected with these debasing exhibitions has been brought home to the public mind. The streets, even on Sunday afternoon, were occupied with groups of persons discussing the sermon of the morning. Of course among the 'lewd fellows of the baser sort' there has been a great buzzing —but never have I been so thanked by intelligent and good men for any sermon I have delivered.

"Next Sunday afternoon I am to deliver a discourse on 'Popular Amusements,' and by the help of God I will clear my skirts of guilt in this matter."

A number of prominent citizens of Winchester, among them many young men, requested the publication of the sermon. A second edition was printed in 1852. The discourse, which is hardly a "sermon" in the proper sense of the word, is preceded by a selection of Scripture passages from the Old and New Testaments.

In a very solemn introduction he assures his hearers that he does not intend to attack persons. "If individuals apply general truths to themselves, it is they, not we, who make them personal." He prays that he may speak as a dying man to dying men, and also as a living man to living men. The address itself is confined to two topics: *Dancing* and *Exhibitions* of a demoralizing kind.

In speaking of the former he denounces dancing as inconsistent with the intelligence and real refinement of modern society. "A reading and intelligent population never is a dancing one." It is in conflict with the Bible. The solemn religious act of dancing in the Scripture is something essentially different from the modern dance. "If any part of mankind could build a plausible sophism upon the dancing mentioned in the Bible, it would be not dancers but the Shakers." Dancing is totally against the spirit of the Bible. It is the frequent cause of bodily disease, and not, as it is sometimes called, good exercise. It injures the soul as well as the body, imparting a craving for sensual enjoyments; it is hostile to virtue, to the duties and happiness of domestic life, disreputable even in the eyes of the old Pagans. Dancing is "an old running sore of animalism not yet healed up on the body of society." It ought not to be a part of female education. "It is refinement of feeling that produces genuine refinement of manner. It depends not on the turn of the foot; its seat is the heart, its revelation is the word of unpretending kindness, the act of soul-deep courtesy."

The second topic treated is Exhibitions of a demoralizing kind, concerts of low and corrupting songs, stage dancing, and the performances of the theatre and circus in general, and "those spewings of infidelity and lewdness, under the decent title of 'Lectures for gentlemen only.'" These exhibitions encourage extravagance in the expenditure of money, they feed the spirit of dishonesty, and are powerful ministers to drunkenness and its concomitant vices. They loose the bonds of moral purity.

"In our beloved Virginia, there is peculiar danger in these things. Our people are eminently openhearted and unsuspicious. That frankness and freeness by which the heart speaks to the heart, mark the Virginian and make him an admired and welcome guest wherever he is known. The intercourse of the young is eminently

genial; founded on, implying, and demanding a generous confidence; a pure-hearted trust on the one side, on the other an incorruptible honor; a sentiment of affection chastened by reverence for that innocence whose shrine is the loveliest, whose ruins are the most melancholy spectacle in our world."

Referring to the danger that the popularity of the minister may suffer from his explicitness in attacking these evils, he says: "I do not hesitate to say to my people, deep as is my conviction of an affection of which they have given so many proofs, strong as is the love with which I return it, so that I can say with Paul: 'Ye are in our hearts to die and live with you;' yet if the day should ever come, when it is clearly understood, that the price of that affection is an abatement of my faithfulness, that I am to balance between a question of truth and of acceptableness—that day the tie must be broken —we must part. If you give me the care of your souls, I must be faithful to them; if you teach your children to look to me as their spiritual guide, I must point out every abyss of death which yawns before them."

He closes with a solemn appeal to all good men to abstain from these things, and to keep others from them by their influence and example; to the guardians of the young, to the Church, and finally to the young men, whose characters are forming for time and eternity. "Happy that community where the young men, the joy and hope of every community, stand like a wall of fire, inaccessible to evil, and repelling it from others. Join hands with me, my young brother Pilgrims for eternity, and let us form that defence."

However much men may differ from the extremely puritanic position taken, with reference to some of the details of this sermon, no one can fail to recognize the great moral force, the power of personal conviction, the fearlessness and pointedness, the striking language with

which it presented the subject, and carried it home to the hearts of the hearers.

As an evidence of the deep impression which even the printed discourse made upon a young and enthusiastic reader, who was well fitted to judge of its merits, we present the following abstract from a letter of Rev. J. A. Seiss, at that time pastor in Cumberland:

Cumberland, July *22*, 1851.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER KRAUTH:

Although I have a sermon to prepare this week for the occasion of a cornerstone laying of a new church, and have not yet fixed upon the text or a thought, I am constrained to defer it until I express to you the burden of my heart, with regard to the sermon on "*Popular Amusements*," which you, or some unknown friend, did me the honor to forward by last night's mail. To say I am pleased with it is hypocrisy; I am delighted, I am enraptured, I am benefited, I am satisfied to the highest extent, without the surfeit of fulness. It is a tremendous effort—the best you have ever made, in any form, of which I have any knowledge. Your bow is like the jawbone of a whale, and you have drawn it with a nerve and power of a William Tell. May God speed the arrow to its appointed place! That sermon was written in *hot blood*, with the mercury standing at one hundred. I should be rejoiced beyond measure to see a few more from you "of the same sort." A few more such efforts brought home to thinking people, would put an end to those whisperings from hell, which you so truly and eloquently paint. Would to God that I could have such a sermon from my pulpit! I have been thinking for a long time on the same theme. I have alluded to it on several occasions. My heart had just begun to burn, when lo! every thought that had crossed me, and every feeling that had been kindled, has received utterance from you with such suitable and powerful words, that I should now be

ashamed to try to make a sermon on the subject. I am filled with exultation at your effort, and am most heartily obliged to you for the sermon, and for the neat copy of it which has been so kindly furnished me.

In his answer to this letter Charles P. Krauth says, "To be *laudatus a laudato* is always a felicity, but I did not expect such a measure of praise from one whose judgment I honor so much. I know I do not deserve it, but having perfect confidence in your candor, your kind commendation has given me a deeper insight into the ardor of your friendship. My sermon has, I trust, done its designed work. The excitement it has produced is owing, I know, far more to its timeliness than to its ability. Such as it is, however, it has been blessed. Orders have come for it from various parts of our land. The edition of one thousand has been taken already."

A very warm friendship was formed in those days between Mr. Krauth and Rev. J. A. Seiss. He invited Mr. Seiss repeatedly to Winchester to assist him in special services in connection with a communion season; he rejoiced in the favor, with which the preaching of his friend was received by the Winchester congregation; he took the warmest interest in his first literary efforts, offering him all the assistance which the storehouse of his library and his own learning could possibly give to the friend, as will appear from a few extracts given below from their correspondence; he discussed with him very frankly the condition of the Lutheran Church at that critical period of her history in America.

To the church at Winchester he was bound by the strongest ties of attachment, so that no offer or call from another field, however tempting it might appear, could make an impression on him. He had been spoken of already in 1848 as the proper candidate for the second

professorship in the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, and later on direct or indirect invitations came to him from Chambersburg (1849), York (1850), Columbus (1850), Frederick (1851), New York (1851), Springfield (1854). But through all these he remained firm and faithful to his Winchester congregation, to which in less than six years of his pastorate upward of one hundred and forty members were added through his ministrations, doubling the number of communicants. The most urgent of the above mentioned calls and invitations was perhaps that from the English Lutheran Church in New York City. Professor H. I. Schmidt, his warm, paternal friend, was a member of that congregation, and after the resignation of Dr. Martin, he wrote to him repeatedly on this subject and urged him to come to New York. "Myself and a number of our church-officers and members are very anxious to see our pulpit filled by one who will not only occupy a conspicuous and honorable position among the preachers of our city, but who will in all things approve himself a true, sound, and consistent Lutheran. There is not a man in our Church from whose election to our vacant pastoral charge I would anticipate happier results to the interests of our church, to the prosperity of Lutheranism in New York, than from yours. I am almost daily inquired of: 'Have you heard from Mr. Krauth?' And for my sake and that of the congregation I am very anxious to have your decision." (Letter of February 3, 1851.)

In his letters Professor Schmidt always addressed him familiarly as "Charles." "I cannot persuade myself to address your father's son, my ancient studiosus linguæ Teutonicæ, in any more formal manner than that of the baptismal name." (Letter of January 13, 1851.)

The enjoyment of the perfect happiness of his family

life was during these years now and then marred by his frequent absence from home, in the work and at the call of the Church. He was in New York in the spring of 1848 at the meeting of the General Synod, as a delegate from the Synod of Maryland, the first meeting of the General Body which he attended in an official capacity; and it was the convention which elected his father as president of the General Synod. It was his first visit to the great metropolis. "In Philadelphia," he wrote to his wife, "I had felt the smallness of Baltimore, but in New York I felt the smallness of every place that I have seen. It is an enormous city, abounding with thousands of objects of interest, presenting more filth and magnificence, more wretchedness and splendor, than I have ever before seen. It embraces every sight, every sound, and every smell that can well be imagined."

In September, 1848, he was present at the dedication of the First English Lutheran Church in Washington, D. C., and preached in the afternoon from the text, "She hath done what she could." In the forenoon Rev. F. W. Conrad had preached in the presence of President Polk and James Buchanan, at that time Secretary of State. In the evening Dr. J. G. Morris occupied the pulpit of the new church.

In 1850 he attended the convention of the General Synod at Charleston, S. C., where his father preached that memorable discourse on the Lutheran Church in America. On the trip to Charleston he suffered terribly from seasickness ("it makes me sick to think of it"). In company with Dr. J. G. Morris, of Baltimore, his old paternal friend, he stayed at the house of a very pleasant family by the name of Cobia.

On the way home from Charleston the relatives in Alexandria, Richmond, Bedford Co., Staunton, Va., were

visited, and the visit was repeated two years afterward. In Philadelphia, in April, 1851, he preached at St. John's for the Rev. Dr. P. F. Mayer, and for the first time in his life wore the gown and bands. "Dr. M.'s church," he writes to his wife, "is an immense one, and his congregation a large and wealthy one, and he himself a very particular old gentleman who rarely asks any one to fill his place. I preached on 'The one thing needful,' filled the house perfectly with entire ease; felt no embarrassment in the gown. At night I preached at St. Mark's for Rev. Mr. Stork—very little to my own satisfaction or to anybody else's. I love Winchester, if possible, more than ever and have no inclination to live in a large city. I have bought some very valuable books here, and would have considered myself foolish to throw away so rare an opportunity as is afforded by a visit in Philadelphia. Now my purchases for the year are absolutely over, and with the rigid economy which you are exhibiting in the beefsteaks, we shall no doubt save all our money which we do not spend."

But not only through his own frequent travels during this period were husband and wife often separated, but also in consequence of the failure of Mrs. Krauth's health. She spent weeks and months away from him in a summer residence of her mother, hoping in vain to arrest the progress of the lung-disease by fresh country air and perfect rest from all household cares. These long periods of separation were a sore trial to him. "Nearly four months have elapsed"—he writes in July, 1852—"since you left, and I am more sick, weary, and disgusted with this mode of living than I can express. I am sure that no place can be better for you than home."

The anxiety which he began at that time to feel about the state of her health is seen from the following passage

in one of his letters to Rev. J. A. Seiss (May, 1852): "My dear Susan's health is in a most precarious situation. She has had an obstinate cough and great general depression for more than six months. She is now improving and, I have strong reasons for hoping, will improve, but if she does not get well this summer I look forward with painful forebodings to next winter. Remember her, my dear brother, in your prayers. Everything earthly is lost to me if I lose her. But I believe God will be gracious. I look forward to a complete reestablishment of her health. She will probably be away during the whole summer."

During his Winchester pastorate Charles P. Krauth was connected with the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Virginia, which had been organized at Woodstock, Va., in 1829. At the second convention, held in Union Church, Rockingham Co., October, 1830, letters were presented from several congregations, praying that the brethren constituting the Synod of Virginia should not attach themselves to the General Synod, whereupon it was resolved that the Synod should withdraw from all connection with that body. This led to the withdrawal of four out of the ten ministers, who had formed the Synod. In the following year in a fraternal and dignified paper the reasons were stated for this action of the Synod of Virginia. Certain brethren in the General Body were regarded as having usurped too much authority; having deviated from the first construction put upon the Constitution; being disposed to throw the power over the churches into the hands of a few, curtailing the privileges of the congregations. (See "The Lutheran Church in Virginia," by Rev. D. M. Gilbert, A.M., New Market, Va., 1876.) At the meeting in Roanoke, however, in 1839, it was resolved to adopt the Consti-

tution of the General Synod, and appoint delegates to attend the convention of that body in Chambersburg, being assured "that the late modifications of the Constitution of the General Synod had made it, what it should be, strictly and exclusively an advisory body, consulting alone the fraternal unity and prosperity of the Church without the right of legislation over and for it."

The territory of the Synod of Virginia was chiefly in the beautiful "Valley of Virginia," between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany Mountains. It was a small body, and pre-eminently a missionary Synod. Out of its twenty-three ministers in 1850 only seventeen were pastors of congregations, and of these only ten of self-supporting congregations, all the others receiving assistance from missionary funds. The average support of the pastors was estimated at not more than $250 a year. The Winchester congregation formed an exception in this respect, as it numbered among its membership some of the wealthiest and most refined families of the place.

"At the meeting of the Synod of Virginia soon after his removal to Winchester, and the first since he left Baltimore, Mr. Krauth was not present, being prevented by the illness unto death of his wife's father. He was received into the Synod at German Settlement, Preston Co., May, 1849. At that meeting the translation of the Pennsylvania Synod's Liturgy of 1842, published by the General Synod in 1847, was presented and referred to a committee for examination, of which committee Mr. Krauth was chairman; they recommended its adoption for use, but at their suggestion certain changes in it were to be proposed to the General Synod, and the delegates to the meeting at Charleston were made the committee to propose them. The delegates were C. P. Krauth and B. M. Schmucker, who carefully

considered those changes; and although the subject was not taken up at the meeting at Charleston, the result of their deliberations was afterward presented to the Virginia Synod in an elaborate report. It is interesting to see in how far the features of the future Church Book were then already distinctly before the minds of some of those who were afterward engaged in its preparation. They propose that but one Order be provided for each service; they recommend the older forms; they ask for the restoral of the Epistles and Gospels, the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, and the Lord's Prayer in the Sunday Service; that the Augsburg Confession and Catechism be included, and that the Liturgy be printed uniformly with the hymns, so that being bound together, they may alike go into the hands of all the people. From that time on, and even from before that time, the newly awakened and ever-increasing love to the old distinctive doctrine and life of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation included for him a warm and enduring interest in the restoral of her ancient order of worship, and he made that order of worship the subject of extended study, and gave to the work much labor for many years." (Dr. B. M. Schmucker's " Memorial," p. 10.)

He was charged with the selection and description of the Seal of the Virginia Synod which he submitted in 1851. The device was rich in Christian suggestion and historical association. The central part was similar to a medal struck in 1648 by the City of Nuremberg in commemoration of the peace of Westphalia, representing the Lamb, carrying a banner with the word " Pax " ; on the inner margin the words: " Christo Duce, Verbo Luce." Below this emblem, in a smaller figure, is the seal of Luther, to mark the Synod as a Lutheran Body. " We have placed it in the seal," says the report of the com-

mittee, " because, as the Christian world now is, we cannot deny our name or repudiate our history, without abandoning our great distinctive principles. We have made it, however, subordinate, and placed it beneath the other, because the greatest truths are those around which the true followers of the Lord Jesus, of every name, are gathered." (See *Minutes* 1851, p. 20.)

He was elected President of the Synod of Virginia at the convention held in Martinsburg, his native town, November, 1854, but early in the year 1855 the negotiations began which resulted in his removal to Pittsburgh.

The period of Mr. Krauth's life of which this chapter treats, was marked by incessant activity in literary labors, and it has given to the Church some of the most valuable results of his careful research and his maturing judgment. After the struggles and trials, the battle with doubts and difficulties, which have been referred to in a former chapter, his personal faith and his theological position had been a victory, " not a passive acceptance of what came to him from the hands of others. He had the keenly sceptical intellect of the doubter, and he had to wrestle for his beliefs, not merely acquiesce in them. His joy in believing, which filled up the measure of his manhood's years, was the joy of the harvest after the toil is over, and the joy of the battle-field as men rejoice when they divide the spoil. He had encountered the intellectual dangers and temptations which beset our generation, and had faced them frankly and with a rare acquaintance with all that could be said on either side in our great controversies. He had felt their fascination as keenly as any, but he found nothing to shake his faith in the living God disclosed in the Gospel of Jesus Christ." (See Professor Robert Ellis Thompson, " Baccalaureate Sermon," June 10, 1883.) And the confession of his

fathers, as found in the standards of the Mother Church of the Reformation, was to him henceforth the purest and most impregnable system of Christian doctrine. His very heart had been conquered by it, and henceforth he lived to expound, to uphold, and defend it with all the gifts of his natural endowments and the treasures of his vast learning.

As we pointed out before, the thorough and continued exegetical study of the Holy Scripture in the original languages, which formed the solid foundation for his whole theological position, had led him to the Christological question. The "*Person of Christ*" was the first subject of a purely dogmatical character on which he published an article in the Mercersburg *Review*, May, 1849. It was only a translation of that Locus in H. Schmid's "Dogmatik," but it closes with these beautiful and significant lines by the translator:

"With the harmonious and glorious view of his Church on this great central idea of Christianity, the translator feels the profoundest sympathy. He believes that there is no consistent position between the essentials of this view, and the dreary half-Socinianism of Nestorius. The doctrine lives in the hearts of thousands of God's children, to whom it has never been imparted in the teachings of the theology to which they have been wont to listen. It is only the doctrine of a true incarnation which can lift us to the power of that adoring love which the Son of God, our Saviour, demands. It is this alone which can cause us to present, as the true homage of our soul, the prayer of the Church which found voice in that sweet hymn of Aquinas:

> "'Adoro Te devote, latens Deitas, Jesu Domine,
> Me immundum munda Tuo sanguine,
> Cujus una stilla salvum facere
> Totum mundum quit ab omni scelere.'"

It was this same interest in the doctrine on the "Person of Christ" which prompted him soon afterward to make the Gospel narrative of Christ's transfiguration an object of special inquiry and careful study. The results of his investigations were incorporated in an article for the *Evangelical Review*, October, 1850, pp. 237-265, and afterward published as a separate pamphlet of thirty-eight pages, under the title: *The Transfiguration, an Exegetical Homily.* It impresses us even now as a labor of love which was taken up and carried out with a particularly deep interest and a burning heart. And though he was not at all satisfied with it in its final shape, still it was in his own judgment the most valuable contribution to the literature of his Church which he had thus far made.

About the same time he had given special attention to the patristic period, selecting Chrysostom as its representative. In 1848 he delivered an address to the Alumni of the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, on Chrysostom, his training and character as a preacher. It appeared in the first number of the *Evangelical Review*, July, 1849, under the title: "Chrysostom considered with reference to training for the pulpit." (*Evangelical Review*, Vol. I., pp. 84-104.) Of this article his father said in a letter (May 28, 1849): "I expect yours will be the banner article of the number, which, should it so turn out, will be honor enough for a theological stripling like you." From the introduction we select a few sentences which indicate the line of thought and research on which he was principally moving in those days, namely the history of the Fathers and of the Church in her earlier stages. From a fuller appreciation of the past he expects to learn better to understand the present, and

to do his duty to the Church of his own days. He says:

The earliest writers in every department are worthy of close study, because, by an irresistible law of humanity, they give an impress which never ceases to be felt. They determine some of the elemental features of the department in which they labored, forever. The beginning, therefore, must be known to appreciate all that follows, and it is the glorious work of true history to lead us from the fountains along the streams of human destiny, or to show us far back that little spring bubbling up, from whose river we are drinking life and joy from day to day. A loving veneration for the past, may, therefore, be the offspring of a keen, just, sympathizing, and admiring judgment of the present—may be the child of a reflective philosophy—not of bigotry, bibliomania, or misanthropy. It is not profitless to step into the domain of ancient mind, even in its heathen forms; the soft light, and unearthly melody of that world of supersubstantial shadows, do not merely enchant, they also exalt. To the Christian, still more, has the history of those who founded or gave form to the early Church, an inestimable value. It presents a page often splendid, sometimes painful, always instructive. All of us, even those who turn up the eyes of their sanctimonious ignorance at the very name of "the Fathers," are the children of a thousand influences to which they gave rise; we are the legatees of their virtues and their faults, and he to whom the record of their trials (under the pressure of disadvantages, which would have crushed those who are fondest of sneering at them, into utter nothingness), of their virtues, and of their greatness, has no interest—is an inflated and heartless sciolist, who can have no more real faith in the progress and history of man, than he has in the progress and history of baboons. If there be something, yes, if you will, much to prompt a sigh, there is far more to justify the language in regard to the

great saints during the whole era of the Fathers, in which Chrysostom speaks of those worthies who had preceded him: "O blessed and happy men, whose names are in the book of life, and who shone like lights in the world! Precious is their memory!"

On the question concerning Mr. Krauth's relation to the Lutheran Confession at this stage of his theological development, Dr. B. M. Schmucker says, in his "Memorial" (p. 9 ff.):

"An interesting question arises as to the time at which the change in Mr. Krauth's theological views took place, and the influences by which it was caused. I cannot definitely answer that question. During his stay at Baltimore I had no other intercourse with him than during occasional meetings at Gettysburg. But in 1848 and 1849 and the following years, when I was admitted to a very near intimacy, when one subject after another was by agreement studied by us both, when we compared views both personally and in regular correspondence, when the whole course and results of his studies were familiarly open to me, I may safely affirm that the change of view and conviction was substantially complete. Dr. Bittinger says that President Krauth declared his belief that a copy of the "Loci of Chemnitz" * presented by him to his son, and carefully studied by him, was the starting point of inquiries and examinations which wrought the change. It may very well be, that that great masterpiece of Lutheran theology, with its array of scriptural evidence and its clear, cogent argument, had great power with so philosophical and logi-

* It was as early as June 12, 1843, that the first volume of Chemnitz's Loci on Melanchthon's Loci Communes (first published by Polycarp Leyser in 1591) was sent to him by his father.

cal a mind as that of Mr. Krauth. But wherever the start may have been made, at the time of which I speak, he had already made himself familiar with much of patristic theology; he was engaged in following the course of thought in the Church through the ages; he was nearly as familiar then with the very phrases and statements of the Book of Concord as we have all known him to be in these later years; he was then following the doctrinal disputations of the Reformation, gathering in his library the special literature of its different periods, and subjecting the whole to a most thorough examination, and the result at each successive stage of the examination was to confirm and deepen the conviction that the whole truth of the authoritative Word was nowhere set forth with such clearness, purity, and fulness, as in the collected Confessions of the Lutheran Church, and that in all their doctrinal teachings they were in conformity with that Word. There remained still some incongruous rubbish of external usage and observance, perhaps some inharmonious views and feelings of weightier moment, to be cleared away by the working outward of inner conviction; wider reaching and fuller knowledge were to be obtained by the constant study and prayer of many after years; but the ground on which he stood was then firm, and remained for him unshaken to the end of life."

In the *Lutheran Observer* of June 29, 1849, an article appeared under the pseudonym of Simon Schneeweiss, written by Charles Porterfield Krauth, and published by Dr. B. Kurtz only reluctantly and after considerable delay. It is given here in full, as showing very clearly his position in regard to the Confession of the Lutheran Church and particularly on that burning question of the sacramental presence of Christ.

THE VIEW OF THE AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH IN REGARD TO THE SACRAMENTAL PRESENCE OF CHRIST.

It is from no desire to excite or take part in controversy, that the writer of these lines wishes to offer a few remarks upon a topic to which the attention of the Church has recently been called in the *Lutheran Observer*. The general question connected with the glorious mystery of Christ's person and of Christ's presence, is one whose interest is incalculable, and which should ever be approached with a lowly heart, and a truly candid mind. But this question is one upon which we do not design to touch. The newspaper is not the place for a discussion which requires patient search, rigid exegetical principles, a severe logic, and a considerable acquaintance with dogmatical history. The question before us is one of fact, a question around which much obscurity is thrown, though it is very simple in itself, by want of an accurate definition of the thing proposed to be examined. We propose then to inquire, what does the American Lutheran Church teach in regard to the sacramental presence of Christ? By the American Lutheran Church is not meant any organized unity bearing that name, for there is none such, but the churches in this country associated in various ways, who profess to receive the Augsburg Confession, and who call themselves Lutheran. In this complex body it is well known that there is diversity of sentiment on the question of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, a diversity not merely verbal but real. Some hold in the most positive form to the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession, and to the more elaborate expression of it, contained in other portions of the Concordia. From this high position there are almost all shades of dissent and descent, not only to that which is popularly called the Zwinglian, and of which the *Lutheran Observer* may be considered the exponent, but yet lower to that which we may call, for want of a better name, Socinian. These degrees of diversity

are not marked out by synodical lines, except in a few cases, but conflicting views are held by members of the same ecclesiastical body. They can co-operate harmoniously in spite of this diversity, but they do not attempt to conceal its existence.

In regard to the view of Lutherans of the strictest order there is no dispute—but the position that we now lay down may not perhaps be so happy. It is this, that the view of the Lutheran Church in this whole country is the same, that is, that the doctrine of the Church is the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession. To what source are we to look for the doctrines of a Church? Beyond all question to her authorized standards. It is not, what this or that man may think, by which she is to be judged, for there may be great variations from the standard, great variations from each other, and great obscurity and want of candor in the representations. The doctrine of the Church of Rome is to be sought in the decrees of the Council of Trent, that of the Episcopal Church in the Thirty-nine articles, and so through the whole circle of denominations. Here and there in all of them, even in the Romish hierarchy, are men who vary from the doctrine of the Church and vary from each other, yet the doctrine of the Church remains unaffected. If you go to individuals in the American Lutheran Church you will find various views, and if the views of the Church were to be determined in this way, the conclusion reached would be, either that she had several views at war with each other, or that she had no view at all. But she acknowledges the Augsburg Confession; there then are we to look for the official announcement of her view. This view is expressed briefly in the tenth article: "Touching the Lord's Supper they teach that the body and blood of Christ are truly present, and are distributed to those who eat in the Lord's Supper; and they disapprove of those who teach otherwise." Of the meaning of these words there can be no dispute. Melanchthon, who ought to be styled not the

author but the *composer* of the Augsburg Confession, had at that time long held, and publicly contended for, the same doctrine which Luther and the Lutheran Church continued to maintain, and it may be well to say here, that at the very farthest departure which he was ever believed to have made from the doctrine of the Church, he was still much nearer to it than to the views of those who are most fond of quoting his authority. Now to the argument that in so far as we have any doctrine this is it, it is usual to reply that the General Synod binds only in a very loose way, in the Formula suggested: "Do you believe that the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God are taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession?" Some persons have asked, What are the *doctrinal* articles? Their question proves that they have never read even the headings or titles of the two parts of the Augsburg Confession, and we are afraid that some who have ventured to write about it are in this class.

In looking at the language of the General Synod, the first question which arises is: What are the "*fundamental*" doctrines taught in the Confession? Evidently those so considered by its framers and original adherents. It is not our own opinion, or the current one, which can decide this matter. Any member of any denomination in this land, might freely sign our Confession if his opinion of what is fundamental is to be taken as the standard. The neologist receives the fundamental doctrines of the Bible, if you allow him to judge what is fundamental. But as in the case of the Sacred Scriptures, their own writers are to be regarded as the judges of what is fundamental, so is it in our Confession. Now that Melanchthon absolutely opposed the admission, not only of the Zwinglians, but of the adherents of the Tetrapolitan confession, who used language very similar to our own, under the confession; that the doctrine of the Lord's Supper was the very one which was regarded as so fundamental that our Church permitted a separation of the

Protestant party, rather than compromise it in the slightest degree; that the life and death struggle took place on this very doctrine, are facts known to all. Why are there Lutheran and Reformed churches? Every one knows that no separation would have taken place, could *either* party have believed that this doctrine of the Eucharist was not fundamental. But we need not pursue this point farther. Every one admits that it is essential to have some view on this great question. All Christendom is united on this point, that the Eucharist itself is a fundamental thing. Ah! but, say some, the thing itself is fundamental, as a divine institution it is fundamental, but the particular view of its character given in the confession is not fundamental. To this what we have already said would be an answer, but we add further, that our formula teaches us the necessity of recognizing not only some doctrine as correct, but of believing that the very doctrine of the Confession is "*substantially*" correct. By this word is evidently meant, that as regards the main or material part, that is, the idea as distinguished from the mere form or phraseology, the doctrine is correctly set forth. Now, that the doctrine of a real presence of the body and blood of Christ and not merely of His divine nature, is part of the *substance* of this article, no one can deny. A man may believe that a more exact phraseology might be employed, he may think that the word "distributed" is open to misapprehension, yet if he does embrace the very truth which he is satisfied these words were designed to set forth, he believes in the *substance* of the doctrine, and not otherwise. As regards the "divine institution" of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper which the Synod of Maryland appears to set forth as the *substance* of the article, it really forms no part of it whatever. Its divine institution is presupposed, and was no object of dispute, whatever; Romanists, Zwinglians, Tetrapolitans, and Lutherans never had this question before them. The Confession designed, not to show that the Bible taught

some doctrine on the Lord's Supper, but to establish the very doctrine it taught. The first article might be embraced by a Socinian if it merely purposes to set forth the existence of God—the fourth by a Romanist, if its substance is that the Word of God teaches *a* doctrine of justification—and so through all the rest, until we have but the name of a confession. We have made these remarks dispassionately and have not attempted to give to our position any more strength than the simple statement of the truth would afford. It is evident from them that even as an "*American Lutheran*" he is most consistent who adheres to the doctrine of the Confession. It is not he who is *tolerated* by our public standard, but the party most clamorous, and perhaps most numerous. If the armistice now subsisting should ever be broken, and the lines of Lutheranism strictly drawn, an intelligent and honest community might confer on the latter party half the designation they claim, but not the whole. They might admit that they were "American" enough, but they would hesitate to give them what we consider the far more glorious part of the title.

The fullest proof, however, of the development of his conviction in accord with the Confessions of the Lutheran Church, may be found in his article in the *Evangelical Review* for October, 1849, on "The Relation of our Confessions to the Reformation, and the Importance of their Study, with an Outline of the Early History of the Augsburg Confession." (*Evangelical Review*, Vol. I., pp. 234-263. See also *Lutheran Standard*, August 1, 1865.)

Though the substance of this article was afterward incorporated into his "Conservative Reformation and its Theology" (1871, pp. 201-214), we cannot refrain from inserting a few passages at this point, because they show how clearly defined his views were at this early period of

his life. The very first sentence of the article proves that he had at that time made himself perfectly at home in the standards of the Lutheran Church: "It is with a solemn and holy delight we have learned to traverse the venerable edifice which the hands of our fathers erected in the sixteenth century." The conservative character of the Lutheran Reformation is emphasized at the very outset:

> It is vastly more important, to know what the Reformation retained than what it overthrew. The overthrow of Romanism was not its primary object, in a certain sense was not its object at all. Its object was to establish the truth, no matter what might rise or fall in the effort. The mightiest weapon which the Reformation employed against Rome, was not her errors, but her truths. The tone which is imparted to the mind and heart by the theology of the Reformation is just what we now most need.

> But in order to know the Reformation and its theology it is necessary to study carefully the Symbolical Books themselves. In this way the most "thorough understanding of the history, difficulties, true genius, and triumphs of the Reformation will be attained."

> They are parts of the Reformation itself—the actual results, the quintessence of the excited theological and moral elements of the time. But are these Confessions after all of any value to the *American* Lutheran preacher? We cannot conceal our sorrow, that the term "American" should be made so emphatic; dear and hallowed as it is to our heart. Why should we break or weaken the golden chain which unites us to the high and holy associations of our history as a Church by thrusting into a false position a word which makes a national appeal?

Is there a conflict between the two, when carried to their very farthest limits? Must Lutheranism be shorn of its glory to adapt it to our times or our land? No! Our land is great and wide and glorious, and destined, we trust, under the sunlight of her free institutions, long to endure; but our faith is wider, and greater, and is eternal. The world owes more to the Reformation than to America; America owes more to it, than to herself. [My country is my mother, but my Church is her mother, the source, under God, of all that is great and good in her. Through *her*, Christianity, peace with God, redemption in Christ, immortality, have been given to me, and therefore I am first a Lutheran and then an American. In my heart they excite no conflict, but blend harmoniously together.]* We are placed here in the midst of sectarianism, and it becomes us not lightly to consent to swell that destructive torrent of separatism which threatens the welfare of pure Christianity on our shores, more than all other causes combined. We are surrounded by the children of those churches which claim an origin in the Reformation. We sincerely respect and love them. But how shall we make ourselves worthy of their respect and lift ourselves out of the sphere of that pitiful little sectarianism which is crawling over [us and biting us continually]? † We must begin by knowing ourselves, and being true to that knowledge. Let us not, with our rich coffers, play the part of beggars, and ask favors where we have every ability to impart them. No church can retain her self-respect or inspire respect in others, who is afraid or ashamed of her own history, and who rears a dubious fabric on the ignorance of her ministers and her members."

On the great question of language and nationality which is of such vital importance to our Lutheran

*This passage is omitted in the *Conservative Reformation.*

† "All that is churchly and stable."—*Conservative Reformation.*

Church on these Western shores he gives no uncertain sound:

The salt which has preserved her is Germanic. On these shores she has yet properly no history; when she looks toward the realm of her might and glory she must cast her eye over the Atlantic wave, and roll back her thoughts over the lapse of two centuries. She has been, and is yet, passing through a period of transition from one language and one national bond to another. The question of language has interest only so far as it concerns the question of Church life, and in its bearings on this should be watched with a tender and trembling interest. No doubt there were cases in which the opposition of the earlier Lutherans in this country to the introduction of the English language in our Church arose from narrow views and feelings simply as Germans, but in yet more instances did it spring from fears, which our subsequent history has shown not to be wholly groundless, that Lutheranism itself—our life, our doctrines, and our usages—so dear to their hearts, might be endangered by the change.

Whatever, then, may be our sentiments as to the judgment they displayed, let us do honor at least to their motives. They saw that the language of our land contained no Lutheran literature, no history just to the claims of our Church, no spirit which, on the whole, could be said fully to meet the genius of our Church. They feared that, under these circumstances, Lutheranism would melt away, or become the mere creature of the influences with which it was surrounded. They clung to their language, therefore, as a rampart which could shut out for a time the flood which was breaking upon them each day with increasing force. For what, then, do we blame them? Not for their intense love to the Church, or their ardent desire to preserve it in its purity, nor that sensitive apprehension which is always the offspring of affection; not, in a word, that they were Lutherans in-

deed. If we blame these venerable men at all, it is that *they were not Lutheran enough;* that is, that with all their devotion to the Church, they had not that inspiring confidence, which they should have had, in the power of her principles to triumph eventually over every obstacle. Would that they could have realized what we believe most firmly (though part of it yet lies in the future), that, after all the changes of national existence, and of language, all pressure from the churches and the people around us, our holy faith would come forth in all her purity and power, eventually to perform, in the great drama in our Western realm, a part as important as that which she bore in her original glory in the history of the world.

And having spoken thus freely in regard to a misapprehension on one side of this question, we shall be equally candid in speaking the truth upon the other.

It is evident that our American fathers clung to the German language from no idea that there was any connection between Lutheranism and that language *as such*—some mysterious coherence between its sounds and inflections, and the truths of our Church; so that, in the very nature of the case, and by an essential necessity, the English language and Lutheranism could not harmonize together. It is fanaticism to attempt to narrow our great Church into an English sect or a German one. Lutheranism is neither English nor German; and though both should cease to be the tongues of living men, *it* cannot pass away. The greatest works of her original literature, some of her symbols, part of her church service and hymns, were in the Latin language; and surely, if she can live in a dead language, she can live in a living one. She has achieved some of her most glorious victories where other languages are spoken. She sought at an early period to diffuse her principles among the oriental churches, and we will add, that she is destined, on these shores, in a language which her fathers knew not, to illustrate more gloriously, because

in a more unfettered form, her true life and spirit, than she has done since the Reformation.

See also, in this connection, Dr. Krauth's reference to the language question in one of the closing paragraphs of his essay before the First Lutheran Diet: "The Relations of the Lutheran Church to the Denominations Around Us":

When churches which have the *nationality*, language, tradition, modes of feeling and of acting, of a country, are separated by low walls from churches of other nationalities, largely using another tongue, having another culture, the churches of the country absorb those that are foreign. To introduce the language of the country into the foreign churches, reaches but a part of the difficulty, and brings in another. For back of the language, to those to whom it is native, are the whole history, and life, and literature it embodies; while the foreign church must use the lip of one land for a soul and heart which are of another. Our Church may speak English. It is well. But if she stops with that, her new tongue will decoy her into a new life. All living tongues have living hearts back of them, and carry us out into the current of their own life. Our Church is not to become the handmaiden of the language, instead of making it her own handmaiden. It will in that case not be the old Church getting a new language, but the new language transforming her into a new Church—not the Church mastering the English, but the English mastering the Church. Even in their mistakes on the point of language, our fathers in America were not the absolute incapables it is now the fashion to consider them. It was the English life of the land, rather than the English tongue, which swept away thousands of our Church's children. (First Free Lutheran Diet in America, 1877, p. 68.)

The article from which the foregoing passages are given, as also the correspondence of this period between Charles P. Krauth and his intimate friends B. M. Schmucker and J. A. Seiss, prove sufficiently how thoroughly, even at that time, he had been cured from the illusions of American Lutheranism, and how mature and decided his judgment was as to the true spirit of the Lutheran Church, and the great work committed to her in this Western Continent. It is not too much to say that during those very years he became fully conscious of the special commission which in God's providence was assigned to him, for the Church of his fathers in this country. (See particularly his letter to J. A. Seiss of August 7, 1851.) However averse he was to precipitate a conflict, and however fervently and patiently he hoped that truth might win its way gradually and without violent conflict or rupture, he knew that the time would come when he would have to speak out boldly and distinctly, to prove faithful to his call. He was called above all others to transplant the spirit of true Lutheranism into the sphere of the English language, and there to reproduce and establish it on such a basis that its future might be secured. A mere literal translation of Lutheran books from a foreign language into the English would never be sufficient for this. The very spirit and life of the Lutheran Church had to be worked into the idiom of the nationality into which it was to enter, and Charles P. Krauth was pre-eminently called and fitted for this work. Having a knowledge of the English language and its literature such as few of his cotemporaries possessed, being especially familiar with the older classic poets, down to Wordsworth, whose lines, retained by his faithful memory, were ever ready to his call; in full possession of all the noblest productions of the English mind; per-

fectly at home in its whole mode of thinking and at the same time master of a precise, beautiful, and polished style, he was the man whom God in His providence had selected to become the most distinguished interpreter of the true spirit of the Lutheran Reformation in the English tongue.

Besides the articles already mentioned, he wrote the following contributions to the *Evangelical Review* in these years:

Harn on Feet-Washing (*Evangelical Review*, Vol. I., pp. 434-438), a Review of "A Sermon on the Ordinance of Feet-Washing," by George U. Harn, V.D.M., Harrisburg, 1846, pp. 96; a most scathing and yet at the same time good-natured recension, which was very much admired by his father, and of which Dr. Benjamin Kurtz, in a certain spirit of divination, said: "A gem in its way. We hope we will never be so unfortunate as to fall under the ironic lash of that keen and yet good-humored writer." (*Lutheran Observer*, January 18, 1850.)

The Articles of Torgau; Evangelical Review, Vol. II., pp. 78-84, with a reference to the parallel parts of the Augsburg Confession.

Dr. Martin Luther, the German Reformer: Review of König and Gelzer's Luther; *Evangelical Review*, Vol. III., pp. 451-492, incorporated in the Conservative Reformation in an enlarged form (pp. 22-74).

Works of Melanchthon; Bibliographical notice. *Evangelical Review*, Vol. III., pp. 575-583.

The Bible a Perfect Book: Discourse before the Bible Society of Pennsylvania College and the Theological Seminary. *Evangelical Review*, Vol. IV., pp. 110-138. Printed in pamphlet form; second edition revised, 1857, thirty-nine pages. Though he calls this discourse "but a handful of fragments," it is one of the best illustrations

of what he was able to do as an orator on a special occasion.

During his Winchester pastorate, in addition to this literary work he had begun an article on the Romish Mass, which was, however, not completed at that time. He undertook the preparatory work for an edition of Melanchthon's "Loci Communes" in Latin and English, with copious notes, historical and dogmatical; an article on the history of the Apology; on the ancient hymn: "Dies Iræ, Dies illæ," giving the Latin original, the various English translations with one of his own; and on Luther's Small Catechism.

He was invited to assist in the translation of the Symbolical Books, issued at this time in New Market by the brothers Henkel. But it does not appear that he consented to take an active part in this important undertaking, though he took a warm interest in it, as is shown in his letters to Rev. J. A. Seiss.

The following letter of Rev. Samuel G. Henkel explains what was desired of him in connection with this work:

New Market, Va., December 22, 1852.

Dear Sir: By this evening's mail we send to your address a portion of the "Book of Concord," containing the Historical Introduction, the Three Chief Symbols, the Augsburg Confession, and the Apology; which we wish you to revise for the second edition.

We received a letter from our friends at Columbus a few days since, who have made some suggestions in reference to the revision. They suggest that Professor Reynolds revise the articles of Smalcald, which we shall send to him. When cousin D. M. Henkel called on you we had intended including the articles of Smalcald in the portion for you to revise; but as they have made the suggestion, we thought proper to make the change. It

was also suggested by them that Rev. Schaeffer's portion, in addition to what we had intended for him, should include the Augsburg Confession, and that your father assist Mr. Schaeffer in the labor. We have concluded to send you the Confession, and that you take him to your assistance in such part as you may deem most expedient, or that you assign to him a certain portion. This matter we shall leave for you to decide. How would it answer to assign to him the Augsburg Confession?

In the success of the *Evangelical Review*, edited by Professor William M. Reynolds and Dr. Charles Philip Krauth, he took the deepest interest. From the very beginning he promised his faithful co-operation. He not only wrote for it frequently, but also urged his friends to write. He was fully convinced that the *Review* had an important mission to fulfil for the Lutheran Church in this country, and hoped that it would prove a storehouse of permanent value to the Church, and would tend to make a thinking and writing ministry, and a reading people. The following extracts from letters of Professor William M. Reynolds, D.D., the first editor of the *Evangelical Review*, addressed to C. P. Krauth, give an insight into the early history of that quarterly. They reveal not only the high estimation in which Dr. Reynolds held his young friend, but also the "factious and fanatical opposition" which the *Review* had to encounter on the part of the leaders of the "American Lutheran" party. In July, 1849, the first number appeared and was very favorably received throughout the Church.

PROFESSOR REYNOLDS TO C. P. K.

July 18, 1848.

Your letter was truly refreshing to me, not that it was the first letter of encouragement that I had received in

relation to the *Review*, but that it satisfied me that there were some men in our Church who had a heart as well as a hand for this work. I thank you most sincerely for your liberal offer, of which I trust I shall not be under the necessity of availing myself.

I like your suggestion very well in reference to the addition of "Library of Standard Theological Literature" to the title, and think I shall make it when the work is issued. The only objection that strikes me is that it might make the impression that the work was to be a mere reprint, or series of translations.

I shall look to you as one of my regular contributors of *original articles*, and if you have the patience to *translate*, will equally welcome anything in that line, though I do not expect that you will do much in it. As I shall try very hard to commence the *Review* with the year, I wish you would have something prepared by December 1st. Perhaps you could put the materials which you had on hand for the Maryland Synod on the Lord's Supper, into the shape of an article? Although Chrysostom is a favorite subject with me, I would rather you had taken some other theme more immediately connected with the interests of our Church, so many of which require constant attention. And yet you may draw some useful lessons from the "golden-mouthed" patriarch of Constantinople.

July 19, 1849.

Well, *the Review* is at last out. Need I tell you that, so far as I am concerned, like any work of genius, it does not adequately represent the idea of the artist? Still, it will do for a beginning, though I hope to see both the form and the contents improved in the next number. Thus far the reception has been flattering beyond my most sanguine expectations. The brethren here with one accord express their unqualified satisfaction. I take it as an omen for good that Dr. S. S. Schmucker has said nothing to me about it. I think that there is a "Noli me tangere" character about it that will inspire both

him and Dr. Kurtz with a salutary respect. On the other hand some of our plainest ministers, never suspected of that most terrible of heresies "Old Lutheranism," have already bid me God speed.

I have for a long time written for the *Observer* only because I did not wish to lose my rights by *non-user*, and to indicate that there really was a feeling in the Church which the *Observer* did not represent, and also because I still "hoped against hope" that there might be a change for the better. But now I have lost all hope, and believe that the only thing left for us is to have *a new church paper* that may circulate in these parts. There has for some time been a tendency in that direction and I have opposed it, but now I shall do so no longer. A union of the *Lutheran Standard* and *Passavant's Missionary* has been talked of, and this I believe will be the easiest way of getting at the thing. This would prevent the *fuss* that the establishment of an entirely new paper would make. *Let me have your opinion of the feasibility of this thing*, and what you could probably do for it by way of influence among your clerical acquaintances, and by getting subscribers for it.

I do not know whether you require any additional information as to the state of feeling among our intelligent church members in regard to the *Observer*, but here is one that surprised me last night as coming from Chambersburg, where Dr. Kurtz has enjoyed the highest popularity, and where "new measures" have been supposed to have attained their perfection. I know the writer, Dr. Lane,* only by reputation. He thus expresses himself in subscribing for the *Review:* "I have long desired to see some able and dignified exponent of the doctrines of the Lutheran Church, and am much gratified to see you thus employed. The *Observer*, I am sorry to say, comes far, very far short of either ability or dignity. . . . This 'anxious bench' system has, in

* Brother of Mr. Thomas Lane of Pittsburgh, who afterward was chiefly instrumental in bringing Dr. Krauth to that city.

my humble opinion, done more to retard the progress of vital piety, and lower the dignity of the Lutheran Church, than anything that could have been contrived."

September 7, 1849, after receiving the manuscript of C. P. K.'s article for the second number of the *Review*, "The relation of our Confessions to the Reformation, and the Importance of their Study, with an Outline of the Early History of the Augsburg Confession," Dr. Reynolds writes:

I fear that your father expressed but faintly the gratification afforded by the first part of that article. I saw that it had been thrown off rapidly for the occasion, but it is one of those happy bursts of extemporaneous eloquence that infinitely surpass the most laborious preparation. It is the very thing for the times. Go on and write the rest of the history, ending with the "American Lutheran Church," for which I may furnish you with a few hints in a couple of articles that I entitle "Memoranda upon the Historical and Doctrinal Basis of the American Lutheran Church," which I propose to publish in the *Lutheran Observer*.

I value most highly the compliment which you pay the first number of the *Review*—not because it is a compliment merely, but because it assures me that the *execution* of the plan does not entirely fall short of the idea in which it originated. Still I consider my share of merit in getting up the *Review* as very small, and as consisting chiefly in getting the right kind of writers to contribute to it. This, however, is no easy task, chiefly perhaps because we have not yet got into the habit of considering such articles a regular part of our business, as a considerable body of us will have to do, if the work is successfully carried on. You, I think, have made a better beginning with the use of your pen than almost any one amongst us, as you seem to have been pursuing your studies pretty systematically by its aid. But I hope you

will be careful of your health; do not sit up late, take plenty of exercise in the open air.

The article spoken of in the preceding letter appeared in the October number of the *Review*, and, as was to be expected, brought down upon it the condemnation of Dr. Kurtz and his friends. This second number of the *Review*, in Dr. Kurtz's opinion, "killed it dead by its Old-Lutheranism." The *Review* henceforth was to him "the most sectarian periodical he ever read." With special reference to Mr. Krauth's article, he raises the question: "How many such articles would it take to convert a soul?" and throws out the thrilling apostrophe: "Poor Charley! What a prostitution of talent!" On the other hand, Professor Reynolds maintained, in a letter of January 7, 1850, that "the man whose heart does not warm as he reads that article of yours, particularly the introductory part, has not a drop of Lutheran blood in him. The fact is, there is a large body of men in our Church who have no knowledge of her history, no sympathy with her doctrines, no idea of her true character, and whose whole conception of the Church is that of a kind of mongrel Methodistic Presbyterianism, and of this party Drs. S. S. Schmucker and Kurtz are the coryphæi.

"I am sure I speak but the common feelings of all true members of the Church when I most fervently thank you for that article. And this was, no doubt, the meaning of that hearty hug which Morris gave you when you last met.

"This brings me to another point, viz., Rugan's request that you would become the Melanchthon of the American Church! Good! I second that motion, and I think that you have already made a very fair beginning,

which was, no doubt, Rugan's idea also. As to the post of Luther it must forever remain vacant, at least, until another man comes 'in the spirit and power of Elijah,' which, however, I sometimes think, we greatly need."

When Professor William M. Reynolds accepted the call to Columbus as president of the Capital University, he at once determined to make a strong effort to gain Charles P. Krauth as one of the professors of the newly organized institution. "You may look out for a call as soon as we can find funds to give a moderate salary to a professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, who may also take anything else to which he has a fancy." He had hoped that Mr. Krauth would be willing to occupy the post of pastor of the English church in Columbus, together with such a professorship as might be congenial to his feelings. But he was satisfied that Mr. Krauth was not at that time ready to make such a change, and did not wonder, that he was inclined to say with the olive-tree, "shall I leave my fatness, and go to reign over the trees?"

Columbus, O., December 15, 1853.

You speak of the *Review*, and your contributions and efforts in its behalf show how deep an interest you take in its complete success. To me it is ever more and more evident, than it was even when I penned its first introductory article, that the great mission of the *Review* is to bring the Lutheran Church in this country to self-consciousness, and to present her properly both to her own children, and to strangers who use the language of this Western world, to which she has been transplanted. True, you have well said that, "the salt which has here preserved our Church is Germanic," but you do not mean that this "salt" is to be the food upon which she is to live—it is only a condiment, and must not be allowed to supersede that which is to be her staple

nourishment. You have only to come to the West, to find out how little the Lutheran Church is known in this country. Over twenty years has she had a German institution in this city, for instance, and yet she is scarcely known to the English community. Nor has she been preserved, she has lost a whole generation who have become English. But two or three families, like "the gleaning of olives in the topmost boughs," have been left to acknowledge their relationship to the "Mother Church of the Reformation." In the mean time another wave of immigration has rolled in—five thousand Germans have taken up their abode in Columbus, the great mass of them nominal Lutherans, and open to the influence of the Lutheran Church. But will they and their posterity be faithful children of the Church? If we had anything like "Yankee" enterprise I think the fathers would generally be so, but without the Yankee language I am sure that the children will not remain faithful, even if they all take upon them the vows and name of the Church in confirmation.

But even where our members have not formally forsaken the Church, whilst they use the English language —in New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina—how much Lutheranism is there among them? What prevents them from uniting with Episcopalians, Methodists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians? Yea, how many go over even to the Baptists or any other sect whose *books* they happen to read, or whose preachers they hear in a language that they understand? As a general thing, looking merely at the direct agency, it is the ministry alone who keep our members from being at once absorbed, either by the world or by other denominations.

And the ministry is withheld, not by positive but by negative Lutheranism, from entering other denominations. They do not refuse to become Presbyterians, Episcopalians, or Methodists because they are Lutherans, but because they are not satisfied with some

fundamental principle of one or the other of these sects. But what am I saying to you who know these things as well as I do? Why, simply, that we are in this anomalous position for want of a Lutheran literature and theology, accessible alike to our ministers and people, in the English language. The *Review* has certainly made a good beginning of this work, but we need much more. We need readable books upon all sorts of subjects, so as to diffuse a Lutheran atmosphere in the world of thought.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN CHARLES P. KRAUTH AND B. M. SCHMUCKER, 1848–52.

Their correspondence opened with a letter of condolence addressed by Mr. Schmucker, from Gettysburg, to Charles P. Krauth, on the occasion of the death of his little daughter, in February, 1848. Mr. Schmucker himself had just lost his mother. When Mr. Krauth was called to Winchester he proposed the name of Rev. Beale M. Schmucker to the church at Martinsburg and Shepherdstown as his successor.

A letter of Mr. Schmucker to Charles P. Krauth of July, 1848, speaks of the possibility that the choice of the Board of Directors of the Seminary at Gettysburg might fall on the pastor of the Lutheran Church in Winchester. The same subject is referred to in subsequent letters.

C. P. K. TO B. M. SCHMUCKER.

Winchester, Va., August 7, 1848.

You speak to me in regard to the "Second Professorship." For the kind feeling which you express in the matter I feel thankful. You are mistaken, however, I imagine, in thinking that your father's views and your own are the same. I cannot imagine that my name has been seriously thought of by any one. In C. and your-

self it is a flash of friendly feeling, not a sober judgment. I am not competent for such a position, nor can anyone soberly think so. You will understand me as speaking with perfect candor when I say, that I do not desire such a position, and that there are no circumstances of which I am aware, in the range of probability, which could change my feeling in the matter. I disapprove of young men filling such stations. To be a faithful and successful pastor fills the whole measure of my ambition.

B. M. S. TO CHAS. P. KRAUTH.

September 6, 1848.

I do not think that our professorships should be havens of rest, to which faithful and learned men who have borne the burden and heat of pastoral labor may look forward as resting places. I conceive that the interests of our or any seminary demand that the most active years of a man's life be spent in its professorships. I think that the duties of the station require as much energy of both mind and body as the pastoral office does, and should deprecate the election of a man no longer competent fully to discharge the latter.

C. P. K. TO B. M. SCHMUCKER.

Winchester, Va., February 17, 1849.

Your perusal of Dorner reminds me of my article from Heinrich Schmid "on the Person of Christ." It is now finished and will appear in the *Mercersburg Review*. I have one chapter of the history proper of the Augsburg Confession to write, but that is a very important one—the variation of the Confession by Melanchthon. Where that will appear I cannot tell. I have lots of trash upon hand, but my belief that it is trash is so honest that I don't know that the public is in much danger of its infliction. My collection of the Eucharistical history of the sixteenth century, may with considerable modifications, one day see the light. As soon as I get fairly

through the history of the Augsburg Confession I intend to prepare a critical, historical, and theological discussion of its doctrines, and the articles on the abuses. I have on the way and have presented in several sermons in part, a work on the shorter catechism in which I will discuss in a scientific though popular form, the doctrines of theoretical and practical theology of which it presents the basis. I shall illustrate every part of the catechism largely by extracts from Luther, from the Symbolical Books, and from the standard authors in our Church. I shall endeavor, however, to invest everything with a modern drapery, which is much needed to present our doctrines in a form likely to secure reception. It seems to me that a "Popular Theology" ought to be based on the Catechism, and that the Augsburg Confession ought to be the groundwork of more elaborate discussions.

B. M. S. TO CHAS. P. KRAUTH.

March 6, 1849.

I have been much pleased to notice your interest in the history of the early cultus and doctrinal system of our Church. There is, perhaps, no subject of research which presents stronger attractions to me, than the inner history of the doctrinal struggles of our own Church in the sixteenth century. Although removed far from any library, with but the scantiest beginning of a collection of my own, and but limited means of increasing it, I must live in anticipation of more favorable circumstances for extending my information in the future.

I hope that your researches may not be confined in their lessons of instruction to yourself alone, but that we all may profit by labors pursued by but few of our ministry. There is much truth in your remark that our symbols, when presented to the public here, must be accompanied with a good deal of explanation of a historic character. There seems to be a much stronger inclination to refer to the foundations of our faith, than there was

some time since. You will not be more astonished than I was, to hear that fifteen copies of the "Libri Symbolici," in Latin, have been ordered by the students of the Gettysburg Seminary. The student from whom I received the information, accompanied it with a prayer that it might not have the effect to carry them back to the theology of the sixteenth century. I hope we may soon see some of the fruits of your study of the ancient landmarks which the Bible commands not to remove, from which I feel confident you shall succeed in removing some of the mould and moss which long-continued neglect has allowed to gather.

C. P. K. TO B. M. SCHMUCKER.

Winchester, June 8, 1849.

Is not the *Lutheran Observer* * of this week infamous? I do declare before God that were I satisfied that such sentiments and such a spirit did characterize our American Lutheran Church and were continuing to be the prevailing tone in it, I would repudiate it, I would hold to our Germanic brethren, or abandon the ministry. It is not so much the mere opinion involved, however erroneous, as the diabolical, sneaking, lying spirit shown in the attack on truth, and there is no opening to defend the truth.

B. M. S. TO CHAS. P. KRAUTH.

July 17, 1849.

I am rejoiced to see the *Evangelical Review* look so well. I was afraid that the outside might not do us overmuch credit. But it will compare very favorably with the *Bible Repository*. I am much pleased with the spirit

* The articles in the *Observer* to which this remark refers, are directed against the Lutheran doctrine of the real presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Communion, and it is denied that this ever was the doctrine accepted by the Lutheran Church as a whole. Mr. Krauth was stirred up to write a very calm and dignified statement of the historical truth on that point, which was reluctantly published in the *Lutheran Observer* of June 29, 1849. (See page 161.)

and character of the contents. I should be delighted to see a higher tone of church feeling characterizing our ministry. They certainly have no cause historically or intrinsically to humble or degrade themselves below any part of the Christian Church. But I am afraid that the *Review* speaks out a little too plainly to be prudent; although it may be best to take a decided stand at once.

In February B. M. S. had written to him with great joy that he had found "the best edition of the 'Libri Symbolici' that has ever been published." It is of course the edition of Müller. C. P. K. had been appointed secretary of the Home Mission Society at the meeting of the Virginia Synod.

C. P. K. TO B. M. SCHMUCKER.

Winchester, June 10, 1849.

My secretary doings are in my trunk, and it would require Scottish second sight or clairvoyance to guess when I shall see that. I almost hope they may be lost, so that next time I may be turned out.

I ordered a copy of Müller's Symbolical Books; please ask Garrigue about that. I am pledged for the rest of the year to a strict abstinence in the matter of books, so you will have to stand alone in your bibliomania. Thank you for the catalogues. Garrigue is a wretch for sending you all the good ones, he must take me for a schoolmaster, as his catalogues for me are generally of schoolbooks. I am reading French now regularly with a teacher, and finishing off with an extra polish in German.

Winchester, July 19, 1849.

I have not yet read any of the *Evangelical Review* except the first two articles. With them I am pleased. I do not see anything objectionable in them as far as regards injudicious setting forth of Lutheran ideas.

The articles referred to are: Introductory—The objects and position of the *Evangelical Review*.—R. Theological Education in the Lutheran Church in the United States.—B.

B. M. S. TO CHAS. P. KRAUTH.

August 24, 1849.

A letter to you every few weeks with its pleasant answer, seems to have become a very necessity of my being. I seem to entertain a different relation to you from that to any other neighbor of the calling. It must be that I find more to interest me in your pursuits than in those of others, and more to engage me consequently in the communication of your results.

C. P. K. TO B. M. SCHMUCKER.

Winchester, August 27, 1849.

I am not a regular correspondent; I do not pretend to hide my guilt. *A priori* there is nothing I have so little drawing to as letter writing, but there is no man who loves better to get them, and in the case of a few friends it is a pleasure to write them.

I send you a catalogue of Dr. Atkinson's books. There are many good books among them, but the Doctor does not seem to have understood that it takes more than good books to make a good library, just as it takes more than good thoughts to make a good sermon. There must be unity, harmony, completeness, and adaptation to some particular end. To be sure if a man gets books with no expectation of using them, but merely because they are praised, it does not make much difference what he gets.

I ordered Augusti's edition of the "Loci Communes" of Melanchthon which gives the text of the first edition. Among my projects, though not of my own suggestion, has been an edition of the Loci in Latin and English with copious notes, historical and theological, trac-

ing everything from A.D. 1 to A.D. 1849-50 or whatever year the book may appear in. The books you have ordered, as far as I am familiar with them, are admirable. I love to see the spirit of the library in our young ministers. No one can succeed who has not got it. It is the best way in which they can possibly lay out their money. Let them get good libraries, before they pretend to think of a wife.

Did I desire the triumph of pure Lutheran views simply as a party triumph, I should pray that B. Kurtz might continue at the helm. But I have no such desire. I wish to see our Church glorious in her harmony, as well as pure in her views. I wish to see all the men who truly love the Church working in harmony. We must allow some variation in our American Church. I ask no more than that the basis of the General Synod shall be faithfully adhered to. The Augsburg Confession is authority enough, if we honestly cleave to it. But diversity must exist in a form which will not destroy perfect confidence and mutual respect. If any institution of our Church shall make looseness in Lutheranism a test of character or of eligibility, I for one shall have nothing to do with it. That hateful controversy of old and new measures ought forever to be silenced. Let the common sense and the Christian feeling of the Church work itself right in the matter.

B. M. S. TO CHAS. P. KRAUTH.

September 28, 1849.

I feel particularly inclined to an examination of the gradual growth of a liturgy in the early Church, in connection with the general liturgical history of the Church. Should I be able to obtain such works as will enable me to give it a thorough examination, I may possibly have a care, in my reading on the subject, to the collection of material for an article for the *Review*. I examined the Seminary Library when at home, in order to ascertain

whether there were in it any of the works I desired to find; but I found none of them or anything else on the subject, except such things as might be gathered from general Church History.

. . . . . .

I believe that the love of books is injurious to the sweetness of temper, hurtful to digestion, and of little power to produce contentment.

C. P. K. TO B. M. SCHMUCKER.

Winchester, November 14, 1849.

None of the books I ordered have yet made their appearance. I am beginning to famish for a few more. The love of books I believe has fully as much power to "produce contentment" as anything else earthly.

From my cursory glance through the second number of the *Evangelical Review*, I am disposed to think that it is a decided improvement on the first—more Lutheranism and more ability. I feel a regret that nothing appears in it from your father's pen, though I believe he is preparing something for its pages.

I have commenced an article on the history of the Apology, though I have no idea now of writing anything for the third number of the *Review*. I trust that the *Review* may indeed be a blessing to our Zion. O that she may be built up in the pure faith of the Gospel, and of her founders, and that peace and holiness may fill her borders!

B. M. S. TO CHAS. P. KRAUTH.

December 22, 1849.

How glorious a thing the gathering of books is! If I should be an applicant for admission into the asylum, I have no doubt the malady would be bibliomania. I wish our Seminary were richly endowed, and they would ap-

point me librarian. But enough of books, blessed books, glorious old Lutheran books. Away with all your new books, your books written and printed by steam. Give me your books of the olden time, your venerable massive tomes, where that noblest of all creatures, the bookworm, hath spent his centuries; your gothic books, whose mighty ponderous piles of thought bind heaven and earth together, your books that engender a holy reverence for men that were men, books written by the children who wondrously outgrew their fathers in stature and in favor with God.

C. P. K. TO B. M. SCHMUCKER.

January 7, 1850.

When are we going to get the next bundle of books? O I'm so hungry, a hundred volumes a month can hardly stay my stomach.

June 25, 1850.

You have doubtless read with deep interest the proceedings of the Pennsylvania Synod. In some respects I felt them to be in gratifying contrast with the spirit of the General Synod—yet I am afraid that there is a sad leaven of carnality about some of their most orthodox developments. They feel a strong desire to have a German in the second Professorship, and if they could secure some man of great and unquestioned celebrity it *might* do well. Such an one they are not likely to get. It seems to me that they ought to let the directors of the Seminary have at least the alternate nomination of the Professor. As the matter now stands I think it is one of the most unequal bargains ever struck; but much is to be sacrificed to consolidating the Church. I consider the present a most critical period in the history of the Seminary and Church. We cannot afford to be divided, but the prospects of a thorough union are not very encouraging.

Winchester, August 31, 1850.

I suppose, that after the first agony of getting the money to pay, you rest, on the whole, in a comfortable state of mind touching the books. You would hardly have saved the $50 anyhow, and the books you are sure to save. For a day or two the appetite for books seemed to be perfectly satiated in my breast. But I have run up the flag again, and woe to the book that crosses my track. *Hooray for books!* Come on next week and let us have a regular frolic, and try to excite each other's envy at the books we have got. How many of your best bargains will you let me have at cost?

Winchester, January 28, 1851.

Next Sunday I introduce in full and permanently the liturgy of the General Synod. I have been corresponding with Mr. H. I. Schmidt in regard to it. I have been felt about going to New York as successor to Dr. Martin. Of course I can't think of doing so. I am like the man who "didn't believe in ghosts,—he had seen too many of them." Martin is to go to *little* York.

B. M. S. TO CHAS. P. KRAUTH.

June 19, 1851.

I heard an account of your sermon vs. sinful amusements. I also heard it was to be published, which is very well, as the lines between innocence and sinfulness lie in a debatable ground where they should be definitely defined or you may be misrepresented. I know your views of propriety in such matters allow a narrower license than mine, yet I know they are liberal and sensible, and do not desire to see them misrepresented.

C. P. K. TO B. M. SCHMUCKER.

Winchester, July 2, 1851.

Please give my thanks to your father for his kindness in forwarding his essay on the Lord's Supper, which I

was very anxious to see. I have been reading it very carefully, though it does not take up the question on the side on which my own mind has its difficulties. I have not yet seen what I regarded as a satisfactory refutation of the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession on the subject. There is no man so competent to do it, if it can be done, as your father. It appears to me that most of the arguments on the subject do not grapple with the real questions at issue. They are special pleadings which go on no fixed principles—too much after the fashion in which the Socinians and Universalists get the doctrines they hate expelled from the New Testament. To form an opinion and go to the Bible to find it, is hardly the way.

CORRESPONDENCE OF C. P. K. WITH REV. JOS. A. SEISS, 1850–52.

C. P. K. TO J. A. SEISS.

After an urgent invitation to be with them during special services after the re-opening of the church in Winchester, a letter dated November 5, 1850, says:

You may perhaps find something to interest you in the line of your studies among my books, in which case I shall expect you to imitate our friend Beale, who under such circumstances, quietly takes the book away in his trunk, to "powder and eat" it at his leisure at home. I have read all your articles in the *Review* with great interest, and would like to have a chat over some of them with you.

December 9, 1850.

I have looked very carefully over a part of your manuscript of the Catechismus Major, and am much pleased with its faithfulness and ease. I need not tell you, that translation, if we wish to make it all that could be desired, is the hardest sort of literary labor. I would aim,

in translating, at throwing into my version as much as possible of the free, careless, popular air which pervades Luther's writings. I would leave as much of the smack of his time and style as possible—leaving the antiquated hue undisturbed.

I hope that you will go on to give your translation to the public. Put me down for twelve copies if you go to press. A few footnotes would add to the interest and value of the performance.

J. A. S. TO CHAS. P. KRAUTH.

July 22, 1851.

I suppose you have read Dr. S. S. S.'s article on the mode of the presence in the Lord's Supper. It is specious, evasive, unfair, with great appearances of profound learning, liberality, candor, and piety. It is just calculated to have weight with such as know no better. I suppose that it is as strong and efficient an article as can be written on his view. Is it not time that some one should take S. to pieces, and show the Church what he is made of? If he continues he will yet realize his conception of the Church in " pails," with a squad here in a tub, and a squad there in a tub. For my own part, I am almost ripe for a re-organization *now*. What have you to say?

C. P. K. TO J. A. SEISS.

August 7, 1851.

Dr. S. S. Schmucker's article is a very poor one. Did it really grapple with the subject it would be worth an answer—but no advance is made on either side, by writing such articles or confuting them.

As regards a re-organization, I do not think that matters are ripe for any decided move. Truth is winning its way silently in our Church. Let us hold it together tightly, that we may carry it as one body into the camp of truth. If I thought the Church was ready to hear the

truth, perhaps I might feel disposed to solicit its attention to some of those great impregnable arguments by which the position of our Church is defended. I am indeed young for such a task, but I have studied the subject faithfully. If I wrote I should like to prepare, not a *Review* article, but a book. I did indeed, at a former stage of my life, prepare, and have now in manuscript, a quantity of matter on the subject,* some of which—though not all—I could use. I have never yet conversed on the subject with any man who seemed to me able fairly to meet some of the arguments by which the view of our Church is upheld.

I am not particularly sanguine about the Seminary [Gettysburg], though I suppose I ought to be, ex-officio, as they made me a trustee.

The New Market men have finished their translation of the Symbols, and have actually passed it through the press. The Valley of Virginia will now have the credit of having produced the most important contribution to the *Lutheran* Theological Literature of this country, which has yet appeared. The thing, of course, is defective, but it is nevertheless highly honorable to them. It marks a distinct era in the history of our Church in this country. They have translated Müller's Introduction also, which adds very much to the value of the work.

I received lately the last number of Koenig and Gelzer's Luther. The illustrations are beautiful, superior to any historical pictures with which I have any acquaintance. I wish very much I could make an engagement to translate the work, and issue it with the pictures.

Apologizing for his long delay in answering a letter, he says (May 3, 1852):

I have a peculiarity which sounds so much like something made up for the occasion, that I almost fear to

* See The Discourse on the Real Presence, prepared for the Maryland Synod, Chapter V.

mention it, but truth is truth. It is a propensity to defer pleasant things that are completely in my power, to prolong the luxury of anticipation. I get six papers for which I do not care a straw and a letter that I am eager to read. With a perverse sort of self-tantalizing I lay down the letter on the table, burning to read it, and then carefully go over the papers, eyeing the letter every few moments, until in a state of high pleasurable aggravation I rush upon it, burst the seal and go into it head foremost like a bear into a beehive. So also with the pleasure of writing to dear friends.

Through the influence of the Synod of Maryland, a convention had been called in Baltimore for the discussion of the Missionary operations of the General Synod. It met in the church of Dr. J. G. Morris, April 21, 1852. There were representatives from the Hartwick Synod, New York Ministerium, Pennsylvania, East Pennsylvania, West Pennsylvania, Alleghany, Maryland, Olive Branch, and Virginia Synods. Charles P. Krauth was one of the secretaries. Five committees were appointed to report on Church Extension, Education, Home Missions, Foreign Missions, and Endowment of Church Institutions. C. P. K. was chairman of the last committee. No practical results came from this meeting. He writes, May 3, 1852: "The Baltimore convention did all that I anticipated. It promoted good fellowship. There can be no thorough unity in our Church, until it grows from within, on her own life. Twenty men came there to putty on their projects, but they wouldn't even stick till the putty got dry. We need centralization, the correction of the abuses of our own independence—more doctrinal soundness and more of our Master's spirit."

C. P. K. TO J. A. SEISS.

May 3, 1852.

If Dr. Kurtz's positions about the General Synod are true, its destiny is told. It can never become a *General* Synod. Its name now can only be vindicated from the charge of being a misnomer, by pleading its hopes. But those hopes are perfect bubbles if Dr. Kurtz be correct. Some of its most devoted friends would no longer touch it, if these things be so. It is a mystery of God's providence to me, how such a demagogue can be so long permitted to outrage and injure the Church.

I am glad to hear of the re-elaboration of your "Reflections." In its first form it was the skeleton, and more, of what the Church needs very much. It was eagerly read here, borrowed, and inquired for. I could have circulated a large number of copies. I supposed, however, that you would prefer my waiting for the second edition. I will with pleasure make any suggestions that I may regard as important in perusal. I know that you will not only endure perfect candor, but that you desire it and will love me for it. I have sundry things by me here in my books or in my mind, which you might perhaps think of sufficient interest as illustrations of the main points of your discourse, to make some use of them. I want just such a work as yours will be, in its revised form, for circulation.

October 5, 1852.

I have been pressed by so many duties, especially in connection with my winter's sojourn in the West Indies, that not until to-day did I finish the careful perusal of your "Reflections." I have written some dozen or more pages of annotations thereon, besides making some little corrections—in the body of the book. Our Church views do not agree in all points, but I have not noted the differences, because I presume that you are familiar with the opposite views and the reasons for them. Your book

is greatly improved, is an honor to you, and will make its mark for good. I was gratified and astonished at the token of your esteem in the dedication of your book to me. You might have chosen some god-father who could do more for the book than I can, but you have judged with the heart of the friend, and I can only thank you and assure you how warmly I return the feeling of affection of which you have given me so many proofs.

(With reference to Mr. Seiss's pastorate in his former Church, Lombard Street, Baltimore):

I am glad that I can once more have a home feeling in my old church. May your labors there be abundantly blessed. May you have much less to pain you and far more to reward you than I had. My experience there, however, was worth all that I paid for it.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH HIS FATHER.

THE FATHER TO C. P. K.

September 7, 1847.

You have now pitched your tent in Shepherdstown, and have become a prophet in your own country. I hope that you will be able to labor comfortably and successfully in your new field. I have no doubt you will find enough to do. Address yourself to your work in earnest. If in the review of the past you feel that in anything you have failed, endeavor in future to remedy the defect. You enter upon your work with great advantages. Although young, you have had much experience and have much preparation for the pulpit. These will aid you much in your pastoral duties and your pulpit performances.

Speaking (January 14, 1848) of Rev. S.'s going over from the Lutheran Church in which he had held a prom-

inent position, to the Presbyterians, Charles Philip Krauth says:

It must be conceded that the glory of our Lutheran temple in this country is not great, but I love the Church, my interest in it increases, I have never thought of leaving it and I presume I never will. I am glad that in my Church connection I got into the Germanic family, and to that I purpose to cleave.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

June 16, 1848.

I have been thinking a good deal about the new Hymn Book, and yesterday and the day before amused myself with selecting, translating, and composing a few hymns, not, of course, with the expectation of aiding the committee, but as a safety valve to my superfluous excitement on the subject.

I would like to borrow Neander's Chrysostom, second volume, from the Seminary library, and if your copy of the Magdeburg Centuries reaches Chrysostom's time, I would like to borrow that, and if you can spare me for a time Buddeus's Isagoge I will find it of much use.

Winchester, October 18, 1848.

We are now in our own house and are, in point of real comfort, far more pleasantly situated than we have ever been.

While I was in Baltimore I secured a copy of Flaccius's Clavis, the edition which Buddeus pronounces the best. I make a very fair show now in the way of parchment and stamped hog-skin. I have had new shelving put up, as I have been a little cramped some time for room. My study is a light and pleasant room, answering its purposes better than any I have ever had.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

December 16, 1848.

I have been written to, to become a contributor to the *Mercersburg Review*, and expect to send them my translation of the portion of Schmid embracing the Person of Christ, which has been finished some time.

Don't forget to bring the "Bibliotheca Sacra" and anything else for my shelves that in your goodness you think you can spare. I should like to buy "Calovii Biblia illustrata" if you are willing to bring it, which I think you could readily do, tied up in thick paper. I will pay for it any price you may fix.

THE FATHER TO C. P. K.

May 28, 1849.

The birth of your son we hail with delight, and pray that he may be an ornament to his race and a blessing to the Church. I have no wish that my stock should be exhausted in this land, and as we have obtained a place amongst the sons of Seir, I hope our name will be continued amongst them.

June 25, 1849.

I advise you to order Rudelbach and Guerike's *Lutherische Zeitschrift*. They are old Lutherans, but it is very valuable, particularly for the extensive notice it takes of the most important new theological works. If you desire it, I can order it for you.

August 17, 1849.

I wrote the notice of Schmid * at the suggestion of Professor Reynolds, merely to make known the character of the work, and certainly with no expectation that

* Schmid's Dogmatik of the Lutheran Church. Evang. Review, July, 1849, Vol. I., pp. 119 ff. An extract is given in the first chapter, p. 20.

the article would attract any particular attention. It has been more noticed, and favorably, too, than I supposed. Mr. Harkey, of Frederick, objected to some of the statements in it—I have understood—saying particularly that the Church is much better acquainted with the Symbolical Books than the reviewer supposed. The truth is just the contrary. F. S., I suppose, has very meagre views about Lutheranism. There could be no more effectual antidote to low Arminianism than the very thing which he thinks would promote it. I am persuaded that our old Lutheran divinity would be the best counteractive not only of Arminianism, but likewise of Calvinistic errors, most Pelagian in their tendency, which have been engrafted on the Calvinistic system, to relieve it of its unbiblical character, in part held by that class of divines with whom Mr. S. has identified himself.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

September 5, 1849.

I am not surprised that you occasionally feel tired of your post as President; but then we poor pastors get the blues awfully, too, and think that a snug berth in a professorship would be a heaven upon earth.

The library of Dr. Atkinson, containing some very valuable books, was sold last week at auction. I bought the complete Works of Luther [Jena?], four volumes, folio; Melanchthon's complete works, Ed. Peucer, four volumes, folio; Bayles' "Historical Dictionary," five volumes, folio; Niemayer's "Collectio Confessionum"; Herodotus, Xenophon, Curtius, Pliny, Valerius Maximus, Lord Oxford's works; the "Dictionnaire Historique" and some smaller works.

THE FATHER TO C. P. K.

December 18, 1849.

Speaking of his willingness to accept the professorship in the Seminary, he says:

I want repose. If I cannot find it in the Seminary I must seek for it elsewhere, or wait for it in the grave.

June 8, 1850.

The news from the Pennsylvania Synod, I suppose, you have not heard. They express an intense desire to have a German in the second professorship, but know no one in the United States, who would accept, that they can recommend. They have heard of a foreigner, a son-in-law of Wimmer, admirably fitted, who is daily expected in this country; he is to be tried by a committee, and if approved, recommended, and if not, then they have appointed Dr. Demme to go, with some one to be appointed by the Directors of the Seminary, to Germany, to select a man—so that you see grave duties are before you, in your office as Director. Dr. Morris favors this movement earnestly, and Mr. Keller likewise. How much favor it will meet from the Board remains to be seen. The great recommendation is, that it will secure the co-operation of the Pennsylvania Synod; but, in my judgment, it has no other.

The subject of subscription to the Symbolical Books was before the Synod, and whilst they declined requiring such a subscription, they unanimously decided that they are the only standard of Lutheranism, that they have never been abandoned in this country, that they deserve the highest veneration, should be studied and taught, etc. All this, you see, was antipodal to the spirit displayed by the General Synod.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

Winchester, July 23, 1850.

I am looking forward with pleasure to the coming number of the *Review*. I wish to see your article * in print, for I consider it a masterpiece. It put a brighter aspect on affairs than I thought possible. Unless the

* The Lutheran Church in the United States. Opening discourse preached before the General Synod in Charleston.

Church can take such ground for the present, I utterly despair of the preservation of its unity.

Yesterday I sat down for a hard day's work on the "Transfiguration." I cannot at all make it what I would desire. But you wish to have it now, and if my health is spared I shall at the furthest mail it in something less than two weeks from this date. It will, I think, make a pretty long article. I am not merely copying it, but am re-studying it in the most thorough manner. I have read with great care all that Origen, Chrysostom, Luther, Melanchthon, and Calvin have to say upon it, and where they present anything that has not occurred to me, and which pleases me, I shall incorporate it either in the text or notes of my article. I shall try, if you continue to desire my wares, to furnish something for each number of the *Review*, but I cannot make an absolute promise. I am no longer able to write at night, and, indeed, cannot read as formerly, but I wish to labor while it is day, and to redeem the time. I am afraid I have lost much of my life, yet few can say at the age of twenty-seven that they have been nine years in the active duties of the ministry.

Reynolds wants me to become Professor of various things at Capital University. Stork and Pearson wrote to draw me in the other direction. So, like the donkey between the bundles of hay, I shall stay where I am.

August 9, 1850.

May I add one or two more little matters in the form of notes [to the article on Transfiguration]? I had them prepared but was too much hurried at the last moment to get them in. I have tried to study the Transfiguration thoroughly, and, if I can inspire half the interest I have felt in it, I shall be more than rewarded. I wish to have a number of presentation copies. I don't pretend to conceal my belief that it is of more value than anything I have yet offered for the press.

I expect to receive this evening some valuable books

from Europe, some very ancient, rare, and rich works. Among them are "Wolfii Curæ," Klopstock's "Werke," Juvenal (a splendid edition), Voss' "Theocritos and Virgil," Campe's "Dictionary German," a large collection of portraits, Herder's religious works, Schroeckh's "Kirchengeschichte," complete, forty-five volumes, Facciolati and Forcellini's "Lex. totius Latinitatis," Luther's complete works in German, De Lyra's "Biblia," a small missal, Chrysostom's complete works, Bourdaloue's "Oeuvres."

Winchester, August 16, 1850.

I send you with these lines some additional matter on the Transfiguration, which you can incorporate at discretion, either in the text or notes of that article. I have been particular in my references, first, because I find that the habit is a good one for myself. It renders me more accurate, for it puts into the hands of some of my readers the power of detecting any inaccuracies in my representation of my authors. In the second place, it is a sort of pledge that I have tried to make myself acquainted with the subject on which I am writing. Thirdly, it gratifies a reasonable curiosity as to how far a country clergyman may have been enabled to have access to good books. Fourthly, it is an act of penance for the sins of my youth; and so I might go on through fifthly, sixthly, and many other—"lies" which would yet be true. Had I been disposed to make references for a mere show, I think I can safely say, without exaggeration, that I could have readily made ten where I have but one.

I think that if at a later period of examination you continue to like the article, and approve of my intention, I will have Neinstedt to strike off a few hundred. I have looked in vain for a Krauth among the lists of authors before our own time. We should both feel bound to remove the reproach.

THE FATHER TO C. P. K.

December 6, 1850.

I have Planck's tirade against the formula of Concord, translated by S. at the request of Dr. Schmucker, which the doctor is anxious to have introduced into the forthcoming number as a counteractive to Thomasius' disparagement of him.

December 28, 1850.

After giving him a list of the articles which would appear in the forthcoming number of the *Review*, he says, in a somewhat satirical vein:

With this statement you can commence your review in advance of the receipt of the number. It is not customary, I believe, to read works that are subjected to review. It appears altogether better to know nothing about them, because, if you desire to praise, you can do it without being shackled by the imperfection of the performance, and if you wish to condemn, you will not be alarmed by the excellences of the work staring you in the face.

You have certainly made an important addition to your library. You seem to me to lean too much to the ancients. I would prefer a large infusion of the moderns. De gustibus nil disputandum—translated by Tristram Shandy—there is no disputing about hobby-horses.

June 11, 1851.

I suppose Dr. Schmidt will answer Dr. Schmucker on the Lord's Supper. I think the latter has made himself very vulnerable. He will be regarded either as not understanding the Lutheran view, or as perverting it. One of his leading arguments against it is, that the senses discover nothing. If the body were present it could be seen, and if present it must be so at different places at the same time, when it can only be present at one place at

any one time. He has been more candid, and I told him so, in his Popular Theology. He concedes a difference, but thinks that circumstances have changed.

June 30, 1851.

The *Review* is nearly ready to be set afloat, to perform its third voyage around the Church, and you may expect to see it soon with flying streamers enter your port. I begin now to feel myself more interested in it than ever, as I think it is destined to exist, and my agency in the editing of it is not likely to terminate soon. I will now ask prominent men in the Church, as I may have opportunity, for suggestions in regard to the improvement of it. Your views on this point would be very acceptable. I fancy that it could be made, in some respects, far more valuable than it is, and particularly as the reflector of the phases of German theology.

July 22, 1851.

The second article (in the October number of the *Review*) will be on the presence of Christ in the Holy Supper—somewhat different from the article in the July number. It will not, however, go down so well with American Lutherans as Dr. Schmucker's article, your verdict against the latter notwithstanding. But you may ask, who could at so early a period buckle on his armor and be prepared even for a decent fight against the veteran theologian of our Church, the man who has taught theology for thirty years, translated Storr, and written an original work? It is a man who has made no special pretensions to scientific theology, a foeman whom Dr. Schmucker would consider very unworthy of his steel. What he will be able to do you will find out, and if you find the champion of the Symbolical Books too weak, perhaps you will be able to find a stronger.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

January 15, 1852.

The Henkels have written to me; spoke of your supervising the Augsburg Confession.

As my conception of "Chrysostom" has grown too much to make me easy just now in letting it go out of my hands, I have thought, as an earnest of the rest, that I would prepare an article on the "Book on the Priesthood." Will you have it for the *Review?* I would suggest that a condensation of church intelligence, statistics, etc., especially of Lutheran matter, would be a valuable feature in the *Review.* Many of the book notices are *nix;* the titles would be enough.

THE FATHER TO C. P. K.

January 20, 1852.

Since my last I have heard from the Henkels (concerning the revision of their English translation of the Symbolical Books), and have consented to take the Augsburg Confession under my care. I think it important that we should have the Symbols in English in a decent form, and their place will, I presume, secure it. Their edition I have not seen. Dr. C. F. Schaeffer (of Easton) proposes to take the part assigned him, the Formula of Concord, provided we take ours. [The following letter announces the arrival of a copy of the Book of Concord and his examination of the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession. "They have made a pretty piece of work, truly."]

February 3, 1852.

In regard to the value of your contributions, other voices than mine can be found in sufficient number, to encourage you to deal with an industrious hand.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

February 15, 1852.

I have an increasing sense, if possible, of the importance of sustaining the *Review*.* Already it has done much, but it has only begun to do its work. I will do all I can for it, and God granting me health, I will offer an article of some kind for every number of it. Since I last wrote, I have received the complete works of Augustine, St. Basil, and Bernard in most sumptuous style. I have now quite a decent Patristic Library for a country parson in the American Lutheran Church. The great lights of the Western Church, Augustine and Jerome; the equally great ones of the East, Chrysostom and Basil; the two lights of the Mediæval period, Bernard and De Lyra. I have, too, from the lesser luminaries Macarius, Prudentius, Tertullian; the "Apostolic Fathers," by Wake; Lactantius, the early Church Historians—Eusebius to Theodorus—and sundry other matters of the kind "too tedious to mention."

My present desire in the book line is, however, to possess a real library of the Reformation. It has been a cherished idea of mine to give a critical translation of Melanchthon's "Loci," the latest and the first edition side by side, with notes filling up the chasm of time, and a body of matter of various kinds connected with that great work, and the Theology of the Reformation in general. What think you of it, and how would you like some preparatory specimens of the work for the *Review*? I am afraid I am almost as bad as the quasi-translator of the Nibelungen-Lied, but I hope, if my life is spared, to do all that I have proposed to do. Oh, how precious is time! I am daily becoming more jealous of everything by which it is abridged.

Do you wish to "swop" something for a fine old folio

* If our *Review* is not sustained, I shall feel that our Church has been disgraced. (August 16, 1850, to his father.)

edition of Augustinus' "De Civitate Dei," with Vive's commentary, valued at $3.00, and cheap at that? Ditto on a concordance of the Vulgate, valued at $6.00?

THE FATHER TO C. P. K.

June 10, 1852.

The *Review*, just at this time, is under a cloud; whether it will emerge, and when, remains to be seen. Our subscription list is decreasing. The American Lutherans seem disposed to give it the *coup de grace;* it may survive, I think it will, but it will have to struggle hard. The West may do better than the East; at least, I hope so.

August 7, 1852.

I saw Professor Conrad at Bedford. I hope I have reconciled him to the *Review*, but am a little apprehensive that he may relapse when he gets back. Their great objection to it seems to have been that it played too much into the hands of Columbus. It has had the appearance of Gettysburg aiding Columbus, and passing by Springfield. Another objection is: Dr. Schmucker has not been treated in its pages with that high consideration which is due his eminent abilities, his uncommon attainments, and his unrivalled services.

Our subscription list has been thinning since the issue of the first number of volume four.* Some have returned the copies. One minister writes that it is a curse to the Church and dries up piety. Revivals have ceased since it commenced. Symbolism has extinguished vital godliness.

*The articles of this excellent number were the following: "The Necessity and Obligation of Confessions of Faith," by Rev. J. A. Seiss, based on a German pamphlet of Dr. E. Sartorius; "Ancient Egypt, its Literature and People"; "Strictures upon Apostolic Tradition"; "The Delegation of the Missouri Synod in Germany, 1851–52"; "A Contribution to the Christology of the Church" (translated from Thomasius); "The Bible a Perfect Book" (by C. P. K.).

LETTERS TO HIS WIFE.

Staunton, Va., May 11, 1852.

Rode on Saturday morning about twelve miles to the church on horseback. My horse stumbled and fell, completely rolling over on his side, with my left leg partly under him. Thanks to a good Providence I remained unhurt. Concluded that buggy-riding was safer, but had not got a mile before I was convinced of my mistake. Caught up to Mr. K., with his carriage kicked to pieces by the horse, his family by the roadside only saved by a merciful Providence from having their brains knocked out. Found a congregation of plain country-people. Preached a sermon on Matth. xxvi. 39. A large assortment of babies generally roaring, save when their mouths were stopped only as a mother could stop them. Day warm, bucket under the pulpit, people drinking incessantly. I suspect that they were doing it to keep awake. Intermission of an hour after preaching, during which we took a snack in the church. In the afternoon, baptisms and preparatory service. Went then to a wealthy farmer in the neighborhood. We there had a meal about which I am in the same perplexity which tried the little Frenchman when he saw the Yankee eat. It was the last meal in the day, and we had coffee, which seemed to indicate that it was supper. But we had roast turkey, fowls, sausage, ham, rice, asparagus, dried fruits, beet and cucumber pickles, pies and preserves, and other such "confectionery." Perhaps the safe position is that it was both dinner and supper. The forests through which I rode are magnificent. Tall, straight, widespreading oaks, fragrant with the vine and crab-apple blossom. On Sunday we had a crowded house and many about the doors and windows unable to get in. Preached on the words Matth. xxviii. 20; was told to go ahead; that the people would listen for two hours. Babies in greater strength and numbers, lungs and "sugation" than before, aided, abetted, and aggravatingly backed by a choir

of black babies in the gallery; drinking incessant, but attention very great. Communion was administered in a very singular way. Mr. K. and I stood at opposite corners of a large table, and the communicants came up one by one and passed round the table, receiving the elements and pausing only long enough to hear the words of the institution, thus "compassing," as it were, "the altar." A double handful of silver money was given me in the afternoon—about ten dollars, I believe; this pays my expenses. I was treated with the greatest cordiality.

Staunton, May 12, 1852.

This has been a day of mingled pain and pleasure of a high order to me. I have spent it in the Asylums for the Deaf and Dumb, the Blind, and the Insane. The large and beautiful buildings, in their fine grounds, stand near the town. The Asylum for the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind forms one building, and about half a mile from it, a series of large buildings, is the hospital for the Insane. The institute for the deaf and dumb crowns a beautiful hill. We were taken first into the recitation-room of the deaf and dumb. Four classes were divided in it by ranges of enormous slates, four feet, probably, in length, and two and a half broad. Each slate had two steps below it, so that the smallest of the pupils could reach to the top of the slate, on which they write all questions and answers with a piece of French talc. The boys and girls recite together. A deaf mute teacher was instructing the first class in the Geography of the United States; each one had drawn a rude map of the United States on the slate. The teacher spelled the question on his fingers, and they wrote down the answer. Another class was engaged in arithmetic; the third class in sacred history, writing both questions and answers on the slate. When they had finished this, each one wrote a separate part of one of the ten commandments, and an explanation of it. This class was instructed by a deaf mute who was married to one of the

former pupils of the institute. They have two children, both in perfect possession of their senses. The girls generally looked intelligent, neat in their dress, with more than the average of beauty. The fourth and highest class I was exceedingly interested in. These are taught by the Principal. They were engaged on the Geography of Europe, Asia, and Africa. The questions were put to them partly in the sign language, which, you know, is distinct from that of the fingers. (Everybody in Staunton is acquainted with one or other or both of these.) In designating China, the finger nails of the left hand are touched and the other hand drawn out, as much as to say "land of long nails." Persia is designated by touching the nails with a motion as though staining them with some pigment. Turkey is indicated by a movement in the shape of a long pipe. The United States, I SUPPOSE, are marked by spitting; England by a fierce expression and two fingers on the forehead, as much as to say "John Bull"; nothing but a summersault could body out France, and a fist tightly closed, and a motion of the lips over it, as though emitting a jet of smoke, would shadow forth the singular union of solidity and fancy in Germany. Now and then I saw the girls whispering on their fingers.

From this room I went to that in which the blind were playing in band. To see the poor, marred faces, with sightless eyes wildly rolling about, many of them those of little children, was too much for me. The impression in the room of the deaf and dumb was a pleasing one. The loss left no traces for the eye; it was the *remedy* that impressed the sense, and gave a consciousness of relief; but *here* I could not refrain from tears. What wild enthusiasm of music there was. One little fellow especially, about seven years of age, in the passages in which he rolled his drum, produced a perfect explosion of sound upon it, and gave a wild Hurrah! like that of a battle-charge. The children who were not playing were carried away with the music, marking time with their feet,

hands, and heads. One was imitating the movements on a French Horn in a most fantastical fashion. Sometimes they would catch each other's hands and press them, as though they could carry some sentiment straight from heart to heart by the grasp. They have horns and the usual brass instruments, the bass and treble drums, the triangle and flute. I had wept when I entered the room. I laughed most heartily before leaving it. A little dog had crept in, and when the music would come to a crisis he would seem perfectly distracted, and would run about howling and barking. This amused the blind boys so much that, when they got to the end of the air they were playing, they let loose their long-pent-up merriment, and such roars of laughter and exquisite enjoyment of fun I have hardly ever witnessed. I was told that the blind as a class are happier than the deaf and dumb. This can easily be accounted for. The eye is the feeder of discontent. The very fact that the partition that divides the mute from the outer world is so thin would cause a chafing in the prison, as the captive whose prison wall is low, is restless with the hope of climbing it.

Alexandria, March 5, 1849.

[After attending the inauguration of President Zachary Taylor.]

We reached the metropolis in time to witness everything, the long procession, the grand display of military and of distinguished men, the appearance of Old Zack upon the stage, the delivery of his inaugural address, the administration of the oath of office. There was nothing solemn or expressive in the whole of the ceremonies except the kissing of the Holy volume by the President, which he seemed to do most feelingly. On the whole, the arrangements and ceremonies were very mean, and utterly unworthy the inauguration of the highest officer of the greatest people in the world. There was no

prayer made, no recognition of a God except in the oath —the same recognition which is made before one man can testify that another stole a link of sausages. There was a want of religious feeling and solemnity, which was to me very grating.

SEVENTH CHAPTER.

ST. THOMAS AND SANTA CRUZ.

1852–1853.

During the winter 1851 to 1852 the condition of Mrs. Krauth's health had become so serious, that for the coming winter, a visit to a Southern climate was thought of. The suggestion came from Mrs. Krauth herself, and was made already in May, 1852. Mr. Krauth did not at first take the matter very seriously. "Your home," he wrote, in May, 1852, "I am satisfied, is the best place for you. It is so calm, cool, sweet, reviving here. There is healing in the very look of things. As to your projects about Santa Cruz and Taylor's Hotel, they are gammon. If you must go to a warmer country, the South of France, or Italy, would be the place, if I am to go with you. Shall I send you the French books, to begin the study of the language?" However, later on in the summer, it was decided that they would go together to Santa Cruz *via* St. Thomas, to spend the winter in the West Indies. In August he corresponded with several brethren, with a view to securing a supply for his congregation during his absence. Rev. V. L. Conrad, who was first addressed on the subject, declined on account of ill-health. In a letter, dated August 24, Dr. Chas. Phil. Krauth informed Mr. Krauth that Mr. Milton Valentine, a member of the Senior Class in the Seminary, was willing to accept the position.

As soon as the journey to the West Indies was deter-

mined upon, he prepared himself in his own systematic way to gather every information, and to equip himself in every direction, in order that he might have the greatest possible benefit from his sojourn in those islands. Under date of August 12, 1852, we find an entry in his journal concerning books on this subject, which either were in his own library or otherwise accessible to him, and other books which he desired to have. He drew up a list of books "to be taken," and also a list of Cyclopædia articles on the West Indies, to be read. Though the journey would take him out of the regular routine work of his pastoral life, he was determined to make the best of his time, to increase his treasures of knowledge on various subjects, and to continue his valuable contributions to the literature of his Church at home.

There are no indications in his earlier studies and writings, of that close familiarity with many branches of natural history which characterized his learning in later years. It is, therefore, most likely that his residence in the West Indies was chiefly the means of awakening that interest in the wonders of vegetable and animal life, which he cherished to the last by study and collections. "He seemed to be in league with the birds of the air and the beasts of the field, so close was his acquaintance with their habits and their species. In these walks, in which the scholar too often finds himself a stranger, having, as Carlyle lamented of himself, no acquaintance with the humble dwellers by the wayside, Mr. Krauth was like a man at home among his humble but hearty friends." (Prof. Robert Ellis Thompson in his *Baccalaureate Address.*)

On Thursday, October 28, Mr. and Mrs. Krauth, with their little son Charles Philip, sailed from New York for St. Thomas *via* Bermuda, in the steamer "Petrel," eight

hundred tons, W. Sampson, Commander. They arrived safely in St. Thomas on November 17. The plan had been to proceed at once to Santa Cruz, and make a longer stay at St. Thomas on the return trip. But all this was changed by a remarkable providence. The steamer in which Mr. Krauth arrived brought the news of the sudden death of Mrs. Knox, the wife of the minister of the Dutch Reformed church at St. Thomas. She was, at the time of her death, in the United States, and all her little children were with her. These unexpected tidings made it necessary for Dr. Knox to sail immediately for the United States, and the elders of the congregation, hearing of Mr. Krauth's presence on the Island, at once requested him to stay with them until their pastor should return, which might be in two or three months. There was not much time for reflection, and on the next day after his arrival Mr. Krauth decided to accept the call which had so unexpectedly reached him. The Protestant Reformed Dutch Church in St. Thomas had been founded by the early Dutch settlers of the colony, during the second half of the seventeenth century. At the time when C. P. Krauth took charge of it, but few of the many Dutch families once in connection with it were worshipers in its communion. Presbyterians from Scotland, Ireland, England, and America; some from the German Lutheran Church, and others from among the Roman Catholics had joined the congregation, which consisted of nearly equal numbers of white and colored persons, sitting promiscuously in the pews and at the communion table, no distinction being made. (See: A Historical Account of St. Thomas, W. I., by John P. Knox, pastor of the Reformed Dutch Church, St. Thomas, W. I.—one of the books bought by C. P. Krauth in Winchester, 1852, in preparation for his journey.) He was to preach once

on each Lord's day and, if he chose, to lecture on Wednesday night; and the pastor's house, one of the most desirable residences on the whole island, was to be occupied by Mr. Krauth and his family. Thus he found himself, the very day after his landing in St. Thomas, which was only meant to be a way-station, called into a sphere of usefulness, and surrounded with every comfort that might be desired by his invalid wife. This was all the more remarkable, as the very first mail which reached the travellers from Santa Cruz brought the news that fever was prevailing there, so that to continue their journey would have been almost certain death to Mrs. Krauth. A little later on, the yellow fever, however, appeared also on the island of St. Thomas, and there prevailed to such an extent as had never been known before. The close acquaintance which, in his pastoral ministrations, he had to make with this terrible scourge, and through which he was so mercifully protected, was another memorable leaf in the diary of his life. "As with the setting sun of each evening, I passed through the long streets, following the dead; the moan of the sea, which mingled with the sobs of human grief, was in my ear, telling me of that waste of waters which might roll between my own ashes and the land of my birth. Yet, between the pauses of the moaning sea and of the sobbing hearts, I heard a voice, not unknown, whispering, as it had often whispered before: 'Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on Thee: because he trusteth in Thee.'"

He always considered it a special privilege to have had an opportunity to visit some of the scenes of the earlier energy of Lutheran Missionary work—to see, to address, and to receive at the table of the Lord throngs of the descendants of the sable children of the tropics, to

whom more than a century ago, the Lutheran Church had preached Christ. To see "Ethiopia stretching out her hands to God" in the sanctuary of the faith which was so dear to him, was a requital for the perils of the sea and of the pestilence. (*Missionary*, March 6, 1856.)

About the middle of January Mr. Knox returned to his post, and Mr. Krauth took leave from the congregation, to which, during his two months' pastorate, he had endeared himself, and from which he had received so many tokens of the highest esteem. The journey to Santa Cruz was continued, and four months were spent on that island. There he preached in several Danish Lutheran churches, as in Frederikstadt, in Christianstadt, and in the Moravian Church in the former place. He also assisted the Danish Lutheran pastor, Rev. Alex. Brandt, in the communion service. It was only natural that Mr. Krauth, in the full enjoyment of his health, active and vigorous, thirsting for knowledge, with his eyes open to all the novel scenes around him, should be delighted with his sojourn in the West Indies, as far as his own person was concerned, whilst his poor, invalid wife was very differently impressed with everything she saw and experienced. The change of climate failed to have any beneficial influence on her health, and, with all the beauties of landscape and scenery around her, she was longing to be back to the comforts of her own American home. Nor did Mr. Krauth's enthusiasm for the many objects of interest that daily met his eye, make him blind to the wretchedness and misery of the social condition of many of the inhabitants. "There poverty seemed to be precluded by nature itself. With the thermometer at eighty-four degrees in the shade in December and January, little clothing and no fuel, except a few faggots for cooking, would be wanted. Perpetual autumn

walked the round of the months, hand in hand with perpetual spring. The fruit in vast variety hung on the trees, with no price but the plucking. The oranges gleamed among the green leaves, which do not fall, and could be furnished for the merest trifle to those who did not like to gather them. The bananas and plantains waved their long leaves, like banners of satin, around the heavy clusters bending from the centre. The cocoanut offered itself to the climber; the guava, and all the luxurious wonders whose names are hardly known out of the tropics, hung within reach of the hand of a child. The waters swarmed with fish. The native had but to drop a fish-basket in the harbor, or some inlet of the sea, and in the morning he found in it enough fishes to feed his family, and by the sale of the surplus to supply their other wants. Far more labor than could be taken up was offering at large prices. Hardly could want be less, and supply greater, than here. You would say, people in such a clime could hardly suffer if they would try. Yet large poor-houses are found necessary in these islands; you meet beggars everywhere, bearing the unmistakable evidences of wretchedness and suffering. The very abundance which makes it so easy to secure a living seems to foster helplessness. But not indolence alone, but sickness, accident, feeble-mindedness, old age, and crime have brought poverty thither. Some of the most abject objects human eyes ever rested on, wasted by the deadly fevers of the clime, covered with festering sores and the scurf of leprosy, decaying before they die, can be seen crawling or carried about the streets of St. Thomas, and the plantations of Santa Cruz." ("*Poverty: Three Essays for the Season.*" Pittsburgh, 1858, pp. 12-14.)

On May 24 they left Santa Cruz in a sailing vessel, homeward bound. The voyage was without any inci-

dents except one alluded to in the following words (*Lutheran and Missionary*, February 18, 1864): "Midway upon the Gulf Stream a wreck drifted by us, a melancholy sight; and, calm as were the skies and strong and gallant as was our bark, we thought of the disasters of the sea, and pious hearts breathed to heaven a prayer that the wings of love might shield us still."

On June 8 the travellers reached New York in safety and at once proceeded to Philadelphia. From there Mr. Krauth notified his father of their safe arrival in the following words: "By the mercy of our gracious Father in Heaven, we have been once more permitted to see our beloved native land. The barque 'Von Oxholm,' Captain Davis, after a passage of fifteen days from Santa Cruz, landed us in New York on Wednesday night. We went to the Astor House yesterday morning, and left this afternoon for Philadelphia, and are now with our dear friends the Riehles. Susan is very feeble and, after the journey of to-day, perfectly prostrated, but we are deeply grateful that we are thus far advanced on our journey. I had frequently this winter the most agonizing doubts whether she would ever be permitted to reach home. On Monday we go to Baltimore; perhaps by the close of next week we shall again be in Winchester. I hope now with new energy to return to my work. I have learned some practical wisdom this winter, I hope, and realize as I never did before how great a privilege it is to labor in our favored land. Unite in praising God with me that I have been spared to return. His goodness is unspeakable."

LETTERS FROM THE WEST INDIES.

Most of the letters given below were arranged for publication by Mr. Krauth himself and printed in the

Lutheran and Missionary, March 13 to October 7, 1862. A few only are added from manuscript.

TO JACOB BAKER, ESQ., WINCHESTER, VA.

St. Thomas, November, 1852.

Among all the surprises of your life, I am sure you cannot have had one so great as that I feel, when I tell you that though I have not been more than twenty-four hours in this city, I am actually a housekeeper and pastor of a church in it—not of a Lutheran church as you might imagine, but of the Dutch Reformed Church under the care of Rev. Dr. Knox. I have commenced at the end—now I will go back to the beginning. Dr. Knox's wife and family have been in the United States since last spring. Mrs. Knox, who had been recently confined, wrote by the steamer of October to her husband that all had gone well, and that she was rapidly returning to health. The steamer Petrel, in which I came yesterday, brought a letter to Dr. Knox telling him that three days subsequent to his wife's letter, after a sudden convulsion, she expired. She left six children, two of them infants; all of them were with her; Dr. Knox of course is obliged to return to the United States, to be gone at least until January—how much longer he knows not. It is highly important his place should be filled. The letters I had brought had made me known to influential men here, and in the evening I was waited on by the officers of his church to beg me to fill his place. So remarkable a call seemed to me to demand a careful consideration, and though our luggage was already on the West End (Santa Cruz) schooner, I had it removed. This morning, feeling that I had all the facts before me, I entered into the arrangement. Part of it is that we are to occupy Dr. Knox's house, one of the most elegant and beautifully situated in the whole place—high, airy, and cool, commanding one of the most charming views of sea, city, or mountain that the eye ever fell on.

Instead of the confinement of a boarding-house, we have possession of a commodious and elegant mansion, surrounded by the best houses and best society of the place. My duties will be to preach once on each Sabbath, and lecture, if I am willing, on Wednesday night. The Dutch Reformed Church is very strong, wealthy, and influential, and the position is very desirable.

Housekeeping here is of such a nature that we will be free from all care. St. Thomas is at the present time healthier than Santa Cruz, and our comfort and enjoyment promise to be such as in our most sanguine dreams we had not dared to hope. Now, is this not a remarkable providence? step by step our Heavenly Father has opened our way; but could we have anticipated anything so surprising as this? I need hardly tell you that this is an engagement in no way affecting my position as a Lutheran clergyman—as a Lutheran I serve a congregation of fellow-believers of another denomination during the absence of their pastor. We are delighted, as we well may be, though we deeply deplore that touching bereavement which has been associated with our present position; it seems like a dream. I had been in St. Thomas but a few days before it seemed to be generally known who I was, and I have the distinction of being the first Lutheran minister from "the States" who has ever visited these islands. Already we feel that we are no longer among strangers. Let our dear people and friends thank God for His goodness to us. I know their prayers have been following us, as our thoughts, in devotion, have been turned day and night to them.

I gave you in a former letter a hasty sketch of our voyage to Bermuda. After leaving Bermuda, we were far more comfortable; instead of being all four packed in a small state-room, we had two rooms opening into a little passage and adjoining each other; we suffered less from sea sickness; some of us, in fact, getting quite over it when we had been out a few days; but it was horrible, my head still swims with it; all last night when we would

wake, we could still feel the ship rocking beneath us. If you find these lines incoherent, attribute it, if you please, to the sea sickness. If you wish to be miserable beyond expression, to lose self-respect, love of life, of wife, and friends, go to sea. Our voyage was a blank monotony. We saw nothing, not even a flying fish. A poor little swallow fluttered on board and was caught; one or two sails appeared in the distance; and these were the only incidents in nine days. The steamer was dirty, and the cooking worthy of the steamer. We received every attention from the officers and all on board, and parted with something of the regretful feeling with which we say farewell to friends.

Joyously did we hail the sight of St. Thomas, rising from the harbor on its amphitheatre of hills; my first exclamation was: "It looks like a toy town." The houses, white or colored, squarely shaped, and with red roofs, present the quaint formal look of those cities which come out of round German boxes. The effect of the mountains all around, covered with brilliant green, was charming. The shipping of various nations was rocking in the harbor, and the white cross of Denmark, on the crimson serrated flag, was waving over the fort. Before the steamer was fairly in the harbor, the boats were pulling from every direction, and soon were packed together on the side of her, rowed by black men, who swore, appealed, and solicited passengers and baggage in French, English, Spanish, and Creole. There are no wharves, the vessels are out on their cables, and everything is taken on shore or out from it, in boats.

The avenue from the boat-landing to "Le Grande Hotel de Commerce," is formed of cocoanut trees, hanging full of the young nuts and clashing their long sword-like leaves in the breezes from the sea. At the hotel the proprietor does not make his appearance. All is managed by colored men. The steward who assigned us rooms is perfectly black. The barkeeper is a young mulatto who spends most of his time in playing billiards

with white gentlemen; everybody that is black seems to be in a state of constant excitement; they chatter, laugh, and gesticulate most vehemently, seeming to move their arms by wriggling their bodies. The whites are languid enough. Montgomery has characterized the West Indies as the isles, where "the blacks forever weep"; strictly correct, inserting laugh for weep, or if the rhyme will not allow laugh, "sleep," would come nearer the truth than the word the poet has. The noise is incessant; even the parrots make ten times as much uproar as those we see in our country. This morning, very early, we were roused by hearing a parrot screaming in French: we thought it was a human being until we saw him perched before a tailor's shop below us. No parrot is considered well educated here that does not speak four languages. Nearly the whole people speak several languages. The true native or creole tone is a peculiar drawl, a sort of application of the principles of taffy-pulling to language.

The Lutheran church is a large building of stone, tiled, and with avenues of cocoanuts and palms before it. It is the church of the officers of the government, of the military, and of a large part of the citizens. Mr Tiedeman, the pastor, called on me yesterday. He is a tall, handsome gentleman, of very pleasant manners, and is regarded here as a most excellent man and faithful minister. We could hardly have received more courteous attention during two days; we have received very friendly calls from a large number of persons, and so far as human observation can go, we have everything necessary to happiness.

The vegetation here presents to our northern eyes a great many wonders. The cocoanut, the orange, lemon, and lime, the pomegranate, cactuses twenty and thirty feet high, and flowers and shrubbery of every kind, meet us at every turn. The yard of our house is overhung with vines, with probably five hundred clusters of grapes hanging on them within a few weeks of maturity; they

would drive Mr. Steele, who thought himself so successful this summer, under glass, quite to despair, and the five hundred bunches will not cost me what he had the conscience to ask me for two.

TO REV. MILTON VALENTINE, WINCHESTER, VA.

November 22, 1852.

You will have learned, I presume, ere the receipt of this, of the remarkable providence which on the very day of my landing opened to me a prospect of usefulness, and surrounded me with sources of comfort, health, and enjoyment, of which our most sanguine dreams could have formed no anticipation. We have everything we could imagine to make us happy, as far as we can be so, separated from our dear home and people. We have received the kindest attentions, and already number among our friends many of the most desirable acquaintances whom the island contains. Surely our heavenly Father is gracious. He has heard the prayers of my people. On Him, though we are in a distant land, we rest with the quiet heart of children. Still pray for us, and beg our people fervently to unite their petitions with yours.

We are in the midst of scenes of poetic loveliness. The harbor lies beneath us, belted with hills, except to the south, where it lies open and permits the mountains of Santa Cruz to rise before the eye, in clear weather as distinctly as if but a few, instead of forty, miles distant. The shipping of many nations displays, gently waving side by side, the flags under which the thunders of battle and the wail of death have so often been poured forth. Over the fort the red bidented war flag of Denmark flings its white cross. The white, red, and blue of France, the "meteor flag of England," the eagles of the European powers, and the "Stars and Stripes" of the land blessed and beloved above all lands, cast their shadows on the same tranquil water. The sound of singing is always coming up from the sailors. Poor fellows,

many of them have been swept away by tropical fevers. At eight o'clock in the evening a cannon is discharged at the fort, and the report is followed by the roll of the drums and the sweet chiming of the bells from all the vessels.

All our nights have been moonlit since we came, and with a different sort of moon from the dull, oiled-paper sort of an affair to which you give that name at home. The air is charming. Breathing is a separate luxury. No matter at what the thermometer stands, the sea breezes prevent the heat from being oppressive. Just now the thermometer stands at eighty-two degrees; but I could put myself, without walking the length of the room, into a position in which I could get myself blown into a chill. We still have an occasional rain, but in a few days the dry season will commence, and we shall probably not see a cloud for several months. The weather now is somewhat like our July.

November 24.—I begin already to feel very much at home here. I have been shifted about enough to be something of a citizen of the world, and to enjoy, rather than suffer annoyance at what differs from things familiar to me. The donkeys, about the size of a big Newfoundland dog, traverse the streets so covered with a long, coarse grass brought from the country, that nothing but their hoofs, nose, and tail is visible. Occasionally they come along with panniers holding vessels of milk. Now and then a showy carriage dashes by. The horses are small, and almost as sure-footed as mules. I rode on one the other evening, up a hill, though it was almost as steep as a roof, and covered with loose gravel. The only cow I have seen, was tethered in a boat, perhaps to be taken to the vessels, so that they might have evidence under their eyes, that the milk purchased was really furnished by the cow. It would be a good plan to adopt in our cities; drive round the cows instead of the carts, and allow every one to water the milk to his own taste. Parrots and parroquets, though not natives, abound

here, and are highly accomplished. Their morals, however, are contaminated by the sailors, and a large part of their vocabulary consists of imprecations. Charlie (a young American some three years old), has made the acquaintance of a well-disposed monkey, and of one or two lap-dogs; though he looks on them, as Byron did on the freshening waves of the ocean, with "a pleasing *fear*." He was talking yesterday about "Jeannot" (a poodle of his home acquaintance), and "Ceph. Barnes' kitten," and moralizing on the probable fate of his own "torteth-thell kitten." He is prepared to hear that she is dead, in which foreboding I am afraid he will prove correct, as aunt Eveland (our venerable old cook) hardly veiled over sundry, fearful purposes she had, touching the last brood of parsonage *mewses*. The blacks here are highly affronted at being called aunty and uncle. You must be very particular. Any allusions to color are highly resented. The term "colored people," is never here applied to the blacks, but is a term distinguishing from the blacks all with any mixture of European blood. Among the best classes of the colored people there is some wealth, refinement, and beauty. All classes sit together in church, though not generally in the same pew; approach the Lord's table together, and in short mingle in various ways socially and religiously, of which we see no example at home.

At certain hours of the day, wherever you go, the lizards run before you in all directions. They are of various kinds and sizes, and are not only harmless, but are useful in the destruction of insects. Nobody fears or disturbs them. At other hours you cannot see one. One that I watched this morning puffed up and drew in a bag under his chin at will. They are highly pugnacious, and when fighting with each other, erect a crest. The iguana is more rarely found—a yellow-green crocodile, with the flavor of turtle, and classed, by tropical epicures as an article of food, with the most approved serpents. By some, the iguana has even been compared with stewed

monkey. But this last, I am credibly informed, is considered extravagance by men of sober palates. But although we may hardly hope in the present frightful scarcity to partake of this delicacy, there are several other species of lizards abounding, that I should like just as well. The ground lizards, slippery backs, red-throated moles, wood slaves, and others equally beautiful and attractive are by no means scarce. What sort of soup they would make I have not yet had time to inquire.

I cannot wind up on lizards without telling you that the morning after we came to these shores, we arrested a reptile now rare, and which, from the noise he makes in his effort to sing, is called gecko. He made a considerable noise when he was captured, being squeezed in the back with a comb (to his great horror) to get him into a bottle, but I do not recollect that he cried out "gecko"—probably from an idea that we did not understand the Creole language. He now lies an inch beneath a liquid shroud of bay rum, poured from a toilet bottle, and may one day grace the Linnean Halls. The gecko walks like a fly, on smooth surfaces, and back downward; can wink, change colors like a chameleon, and is said to become phosphorescent at night. He casts his skin, and is considerably brighter afterward; has claws which he can put out and draw in like a cat, teeth like a fine saw, and is thought to make his noise with his tongue, in the same way in which a driver chirrups to a horse. The geckoes will cling to the broad, lower surface of a large leaf, on the watch for insects; so much like the objects around them in color, that even the keen-eyed birds of prey rarely find them. Like a cat they have an eye adapted for day and night—because, I suppose, insects, like mice, are to be taken both in the dark and the light. They have a bad name, are said to poison all they touch, and even to blister a man's skin by walking over it; all of which dreadful charges are as groundless as those against the Salem witches, and rise from the same cause, the intolerable ugliness of the animal. I believe

that, if the ladies had been endowed with all their present moral qualities, but formed by nature ugly, they would have got very little more credit than the gecko, with which sage reflection having brought my observations on lizards to a graceful conclusion, I drop the subject for the present.

November 25.—The supply of choice and varied fish here surpasses anything I ever saw. The fishing boats come in about twelve o'clock, loaded with fish of the most brilliant colors and markings. They are sold by colored women principally, under the thick shade of the tamarind trees. Such chattering as attends the process you never heard. We usually have fish for breakfast, sometimes fresh, but more frequently salt. We had a fish for breakfast this morning, with a head shaped like the thumb and forefinger, finely flavored, and rejoicing in the suggestive name of Ballahoo. We have also eaten a deer, the hind, a white fish spotted red and brown, the butter fish, the Margaret and others. On this delicious food, the poor can subsist here for a trifle. I think I was told that a man might in one day make enough to secure the necessaries of life for two weeks. It is not wonderful, then, even if there were no other causes, that there is no great amount of energy among the people. All nations and all creeds of Christians are represented here. There is free and kindly intercourse among classes that with us are completely isolated. I had among my hearers at lecture last night, a number of Jews. My whole audience numbered from five to six hundred. Tell this to the neglectors of Wednesday night service at home, and make them feel ashamed.

Language cannot convey our emotions on hearing for the first time from home. No kindness of new acquaintances, charm of scenery, of novelty, or of luxury, can make home less dear, or allay the sickness of heart which arises when we think of it. I am sure we loved it before, but we never knew what it was to us. Remark-

able providences seem to have attended us throughout; but God's ways are fathomless, and it is too soon yet to say what His final purposes are in regard to us. The season has been one of great sickness in St. Thomas, and of still greater in Santa Cruz. What risks we have been saved from, by the high and healthy situation we occupy, we cannot tell; but we know they have not been small. We know that the prayers of our dear friends, the children of God, have not been unheard, and that whatever may be the issue of the voyage, all will be well.

We find ourselves here, of course in a new world in many respects. The first thing that strikes a stranger is the large proportion of colored persons he meets. They saunter through the streets with great flapping hats on their heads. Down in the shady corners you will find groups of women selling fruits or pineapple beer. Everything, when they are moving, is carried on the head. Small merchandizing seems to be the favorite employment of the black race. A single chicken, a few cuts of sugar cane, or some stock in trade worth, perhaps, about twenty-five cents, will absorb their whole attention; and the sale of them with the due amount of laughing and talking, will fill up the day. Now and then a donkey nearly hidden with Guinea grass, or bearing milk from the country, moves along. A few carriages and horses are seen during the cooler parts of the day on the broad main street. If you go to the back streets, which are very narrow, you will probably see women sitting or lying down in the very middle of the road, who don't even raise their heads to look at you, nor draw in their feet, which are sticking out most indecorously. We have repeatedly seen children in the street, in the outer part of the town, perfectly nude. This morning I saw a nurse carrying about a white baby, perhaps nine months old, with no clothing about it, except little gold rings in its ears.

We have had several delightful rides over the island on horseback. The great objection we have to the place is

the difficulty of getting vehicles. They are scarce, and very high. It is charming to ride along the beaches of the various bays in the island. The sand, beaten by the surf till it is almost as smooth and compact as a floor, and bleached to a snowy whiteness, permits us to gallop along. The waves, as clear as crystal, seem to approach us like a moving wall, but before they reach us, fall, and glide softly up to our horses' hoofs, and then swing back. You see the surf breaking over the distant reef. A pelican is standing on a rock, catching and bagging fish, probably for the breakfast of the young pelicans. A little past the sea line on the shore, broken sea-shells and masses of coral and sponges lie by millions; and out of the very sand various living plants are springing. You see off to the west what you take to be a vessel under full sail. You point it out to your companion, who tells you that it is the island, Sail-Rock. You are at no loss to account for its name.

We are not so much annoyed with insects as we expected to be. The mosquitoes are, however, out in great force, and are harder to detect than ours. We, of course, cannot dispense with mosquito bars. The cockroaches or cacerlackies, as the blacks call them, are enormous, and devour everything they can get hold of. A large, black worm is frequently seen on the trees, moving on some hundred and odd feet, but distinct from the centipede, which we have not yet had the pleasure of meeting. The katydids seem to be the same as ours, but are much more abundant. Honey bees you rarely see; but the ants beat everything. Everything eatable falls before them. You are obliged to surround articles of food with water when you set them away. We put down a saucer of sweetmeats a couple of days ago, and poured water round it in a dish. A little while after one of the family laid on the edge of the dish a lime she had been squeezing. The next day the ants had used the lime as a pontoon bridge, and were in full operation on the preserves. But the most charming of the natives are the "jiggers."

They are a kind of small flea, barely visible with the naked eye. They get under the skin and nails, and for more than a week you may not know that they are there. Their presence is indicated by a mild itching, which persons here seriously say is pleasant. It goes on, however, until it is unendurable. The insect lays its eggs in a little sack. As this is designed for a colony of a hundred or more, it attains the size of a respectable pea, and if not removed causes frightful running sores, and in some cases the loss of the limb. It is, however, easily removed with a needle or sharp-pointed knife. Spiders are none of the smallest. Scorpions are not rare, but their sting is not worse than that of a wasp. Some persons rather encourage their increase as they are death on roaches. The mother-scorpion carries her young about on her shoulders.

MRS. KRAUTH TO N. N.

St. Thomas, December 13, 1852.

My hand is almost too weak to guide the pen, but time presses, and I have several letters to write.

I wish I could tell you of improved health and strength, but I cannot. On the contrary, I have been much worse since our arrival here than I have ever been, and am now just recovering from a little spell that kept me prostrated all last week. That terrible sea-voyage! Ah, if any one dear to you should be ordered across the ocean, after they have lost strength and health, don't let them go. Physicians little know what suffering they inflict, when they prescribe a Southern trip. I hope I may feel and write differently in the spring, when a little life has been diffused through my poor, feeble frame, if such should be the case; and I trust it will. Persons here tell me this is the most unfavorable season they have known for years—damp and changeable. 'Tis very sickly in the harbor, and as the poor sailors are taken ill, they are transferred to the town, to die, many of them. There is no hospital for them, and they are placed on damp ground floors, where

want of pure air and good nursing soon ends the work fever has begun. It makes us sad to see death so busy around us. Every day we hear of two or three funerals, generally of captains, mates, or crews of the vessels. I feel sorry to see a strange ship coming in. Several are now lying almost at sea to preserve health; among them, one which came into port a few weeks ago with about fifteen men on board. *Every one* is now lying in a St. Thomas grave-yard. This is an extreme case, but it shows the violence with which the fever has raged here. Getting wet, and exposure to the hot sun, are two things which must be avoided by strangers. I have been out very little. Several times I have taken a short walk just before sunset. I haven't had strength to go alone, but even with a supporting arm, the walk has been too much for me. The last time I went out, I paid a visit to a neighbor in the morning, stayed two or three hours, came home about half past two, and barely got up stairs, when I was taken with high fever and headache, and in the evening had a chill an hour in length. Slight cold and fatigue caused the attack, but it left me unusually debilitated, and I am not yet well. My appetite fails me very much, and contrary to all my past experience, I cannot sleep at night. Last night I did do a little better than usual. At sea I commenced coughing at night, and have been very much troubled with it ever since. I called in a physician, who gave me a preparation of opium. It did stop the cough, but did not make me sleep, and as I found myself obliged to increase the quantity rapidly, I concluded to quit it altogether. I don't wish to be dependent upon opiates for a quiet night. I will not inflict any more of my miseries upon you, and, hoping that when spring comes, I may see you in our own dear, dear home, and really improved in my health, I bid adieu to the subject, only adding that I have been afraid to write home of the real state of my health, for could poor mother see me, or know how much worse I have been, it would distress her greatly.

Charlie is perfectly well and happy as a king. At first he could not accommodate himself to the change of habits, and would call breakfast at ten, dinner; and dinner at five, supper. Six o'clock is the usual dining hour—in some families seven; but we have established four as the most convenient and prudent hour. We have no tea. After rising, we take tea, or coffee and bread. This, Charlie would insist, was the genuine breakfast. No wonder he called the second breakfast, dinner; for the meats and vegetables we use at that meal, regularly make their appearance, and dessert is never failing; usually of fruit only. We have ripe tomatoes, musk-melons, water-melons (very nice), grapes, in abundance. I can always eat them. How I should like to have a partridge, and some of Sue's or Lizzie's jelly. Yesterday, I really wanted them. The West India fruits, of which it is so pleasant to read, are, in my humble estimation, "humbug." Oranges, grapes, and pineapples I can enjoy, because I know them of old; but mangoes, golden apples, avocado pears, sappadilloes, guavas, etc., I cannot fancy. Even the young cocoa-nuts, on which I had fondly set my heart, have disappointed me most cruelly. However, when we get to Santa Cruz, we will see everything in perfection. I long to enjoy its lovely drives, for I feel the need of riding, and here 'tis difficult to find conveyance or suitable time. But surely the hand of God is leading us. Our baggage was on board of the schooner, and in all human probability, nothing would keep us from going over. The proposition to remain here came almost at the eleventh hour, was accepted, and the very next day, letters were received from Santa Cruz, stating that fever was prevailing; and among children, whooping cough and measles. It is still very sickly there, influenza being general among the natives. One attack of influenza would place me beyond the reach of medicine or climate. I am now convinced that had I gone on that crowded vessel, sailing at eight o'clock at night, I should have been ill, and perhaps never have reached home; for with all the

advantages here, I have had a hard battle. For some time I was nervous and dejected, constantly striving to keep back my tears; but this morning I rose with a cheerful, *hopeful* spirit. Ever since I have been here, I have been blessed with a sweet sense of trust in God, and resignation to His will; but with these hope is now blended, and I feel an assurance that I will be permitted to reach my own dear friends and home again. Still, I would be passive in His hand, and glorify Him in His own way. We often think of dear old Winchester, and of the happy day when we shall return. I often amuse myself by picturing the old "parsonage," in all the glory of fresh paint and new paper, and general revivifying, the congregational cake set out (but you're not in that secret), the dear friends ready to welcome us, with Puss in the background. Oh! won't it be a happy day? I know it will to me, and I have the vanity to think it will be to some others. I wish you could see Mr. K. in *gown* and *bands*, walking through the streets to church. He has no vestry room, and must dress at home. He is addressed as "parson," or "reverend," very much accented on the last syllable, but never, as Mr. K. The greater part of his congregation is colored; some of them are very respectable. I was amused at one of them this morning, when he said, "Reverend, we are very happy in you, and we are beginning to think how sorry we will be to part with you." I never met with more kindness and attention than have been shown us here. I have had presents of flowers, fruit, jelly, bread, cake, etc., forty or fifty different times. Tell Ninna I wish I could send her some dishes of flowers I have had. From my window, I can see them of every hue. I will try to collect seed. Tell the children I will have plenty of stories to tell them now, and tell the mothers how much I wish to see them.

C. P. K. TO N. N.

St. Thomas, December 18 to 23, 1852.

Vegetable and human nature in these islands seem to vie with each other in variety of color. From the rocks, hills, waysides, and the very sea-sand, as it lies glistening in the sun, every brilliant flower that botanist ever imagined, gleams and glares. The so-called rich exotics of our hot-houses are mere weeds, as anybody may find out by coming to the tropics. The human skin here has all the variety, though none of the brilliancy of the flower. Even the brandy bottle is not the antidote here to the sallow bleaching of the climate. If you see a florid cheek, you may know that it is fresh from a Northern clime. The West Indian beauty is languid in every feature except the eye. They tell us in scientific books that all colors in nature are derived from three primitive ones. (They said *seven* when we started at school, but had reduced them to three before we got through.) All the shades and hues here originate in three original types: black, white, and brown. The brown race was the Caribs, the aborigines of the islands who have either been exterminated or melted down by intermarriage. Any native of the islands, of whatever color, is called a Creole; and the language which originated here, and which is a jargon, composed of all the languages of Europe, engrafted on a stock of Dutch, is also called Creole. Please, therefore, when we allude to Creole ladies in our letters, do not think that, of necessity, they have woolly heads or thick lips. Mestises are children of one white and one mulatto parent. The children of whites and Mestises are called Castises. The great bulk of the people are of mixed blood, stretching between black and white like a swell in music. The whites do not pride themselves so much on their entire whiteness as do the mulattoes on their various shades of superiority over the downright blacks. The people are too much cut up to afford room

for exclusiveness. The consequence is, that Jew, Gentile, and the sects of various names, are very amicable. Great good feeling prevails. The Americans, perhaps more than any others, are clannish, as they are republicans, and all the rest are monarchists. The hill on which we live seems to be a sort of American quarter. The Anglicized Danes are more like Americans than any foreigners I meet. All that I encounter, who have visited the United States, seem to have carried off a most favorable impression, and are anxious some day to go there to reside. The simplicity of our government, the vigorous character of the church in its separation from the state, our great public institutions, our benevolent operations, seem especially to strike them, and they draw inferences anything but favorable to the government under which they live. This is our true "Propagandism," and it would fill despotic governments with gladness, if we deserted it for the bloody uncertainties of the sword. The climate in these islands is charming during the winter. The thermometer now ranges at about eighty-two degrees, but the heat is tempered by the powerful sea-breezes from the northeast. The violent changes to which we are constantly exposed are unknown here. The climate is so peculiar that spring, summer, and autumn walk hand in hand round the circle of the entire year. On many of the trees you see the flowers and the fruit from the bud to perfect ripeness hanging together. Nature takes no rest. There is no fall of the leaf. If the human system, when brought here from colder climes, has the same self-renewing power, it may bloom with the vegetation, but a worn-out constitution, with all power of adaptation gone, is sure to sink. The free mode of living, the extensive use of wines and spirits, which is rendered natural by the enfeebling climate, the late and heavy dinners, the excessive dancing, and lawless exposure, lead to a great deal of sickness and mortality. Shortly after Christmas and New Year, which are kept most riotously by the blacks, many die. Consumption is very common among the natives.

They shiver and suffer greatly from the cold when they have what we call summer heat. Persons here take many more precautions against draughts than we do, and with justice, for the air is so warm, and the gales so powerful, that you can go from profuse perspiration to violent cooling in a moment. It is dangerous to go in the full sunshine; dangerous to go out late at night; the moon draws your face awry; fruit gives you the thrush; take physic as soon as you land, though you feel perfectly well; these, and a number of other hints, were given us, at some of which we have felt safe in laughing, and others of which we have treated with great respect. To get wet, and let the clothes dry on the body, is thought inevitably to give a foreigner the yellow fever. I have been almost caught several times in the rain; barely escaped this morning after a long ride on horseback. The rains, however, will soon be over now. All that we have had, have been after the fashion of April showers. A regular rainy or cloudy day is never seen here during the winter months. Very thin clothing ought to be avoided. Flannel is indispensable. We must deny ourselves a hundred things which would be perfectly safe at home. No sitting on the doorsteps after sundown for a pleasant chat; no long walks by moonlight. How the young people get through courting seasons here I cannot imagine. As to a bracing walk on the turnpike to get all straight, when you have overworked your brains, or dined too heavily, that is out of the question: first, because there are no turnpikes; secondly, because you feel too lazy to take the walk; and, thirdly, because a walk here only overheats and exhausts, never braces you. I might add, as an offset to all this, that the temptation here to overwork your brains is not excessive; human nature feels out after iced lemonades and cool sofas; the abstract mathematics are decidedly in no request; and the young student would find a universal sympathy here with his earlier prejudices against the Greek language, and the other educational dainties which are offered to his reluctant palate.

Among the great luxuries of the place, I put very prominently the sea-bathing. The water is as clear as crystal, cool, and invigorating. The bathing-rooms enclose a great open square of water. The other day, when I went in, there were a quantity of fine fishes swimming about. It was a sore trial to me that I could not drop them a line; they looked so anxious to be caught. I would like to have a few ocean fishing yarns to help me out when Piscator makes me feel small with the recital of some of the tragedies among the mountain trout, in which he has been an actor.

MESSRS. SAM. M. MULLEN AND HENRY S. BAKER, WINCHESTER, VA.

St. Thomas, December 30, 1852.

If any part of this globe, or, if we may believe the geographers, of this turnip, can beat Virginia in what is her boast, hospitality, it is these same West Indies, whose warm-hearted kindness the earthquakes cannot shake out, nor the hurricanes blow out, nor the yellow fever kill. We have received attentions of every kind, presents every day, all the tokens of genuine interest. Charlie has had more numerous Christmas gifts than he ever had at home and even Haddie has not been forgotten. Like Virginia, the hospitality runs a good deal into dinner parties. The custom of keeping birthdays is universal. You go to dinner about six in the evening and get to the table about seven or a little later. On rising from the table it is usual, in the Danish families, for all the friends to shake hands, with the words "Wohl bekomm's," that is, may it do you good. The social games, which we old men were used to see when just passing from the tadpole territory which separates the boy from the man, are very much in vogue here. Dancing, too, is very common. A copy of my sermon (on Popular Amusements), having got afloat, there has been quite a demand for it and it is circulating through the city.

From Vermont to the West Indies is certainly a pretty wide range. Many of the blacks, and those of mixed blood, are highly respectable and refined people. But the great mass are improvident, slatternly except on great occasions, and crawl about the streets. Nobody seems to work here except the poor little donkeys, which look like aged rats seen through a microscope of small magnifying power. A large part of the city is unpaved. The prevalent odors bear no likeness to cologne. Several ravines terminate in sewers in the town, and the sluggish puddles are never washed into the sea except after hard rains. The yellow fever which has prevailed so frightfully among soldiers and sailors, has abated. Although the thermometer has not been lower than eighty degrees since we have been here, we have suffered little from the heat. The regular breezes hardly ever vary. The climate is delicious, though it has been a great drawback upon our enjoyment of it, that the frequency of sudden showers, and the difficulty of procuring pleasant carriages, have prevented us from driving out a great deal. I have ridden over a large part of the island on horseback.

Some of the hours I have spent in this way I shall record among the pleasantest ones of my life. Mr. Tiedeman, the Lutheran clergyman, has always been with me. He is an excellent man, very pious and devoted as a minister. He has some of the best people in his church I have ever met. How quickly our common faith in the Lord Jesus makes us feel at home among strangers. Wherever its power is truly felt it produces the same fruits. I find these true Lutherans of our Danish Church exhibiting the same spirit as our own people. They have a flourishing Sunday-school with an infant department. The Bible—and tract—operations are carried on here as with us. I understand that I am to have the honor of presiding at the annual meeting of the Tract Society, and also at the Ladies' Society for the Relief of the Poor. There is a great deal of liberality in this place. Thousands of

dollars can be readily raised for any object of general charity. The merchants have just subscribed upward of $15,000 for a Sailors' Hospital. Many of these poor fellows died during the prevalence of yellow fever, as much from want of a suitable place and attention, as from the disease. Every prominent merchant speaks several languages. The traffic with the various islands, and the commercial connection with Europe, make this necessary. English, Spanish, Danish, and French are most needful. Many of the ladies use different tongues, in spite of Milton's declaration that one is enough for a woman. The result of this is, however, that the accents and peculiarities of the languages are very much mixed. In addition to those languages, there is a jargon still current, though less so than formerly, among the negroes, which is called Creole. It resembles those " scrap-dinners " sometimes given us by frugal housewives at home.

The islands are not destitute of schools, but they are generally elementary, and very defective. The Lutheran clergymen, I believe, have a sort of oversight of Government schools, designed to teach the elements of knowledge and Christianity. But all . . . persons who desire to have their children well educated, send them to Europe or the United States. This is, of course, not only the source of pain to families, but weakens their bonds. The children form attachments to the land in which they are educated. They form habits and become conscious of advantages, which their own islands do not furnish. This, with other causes, contributes to this result, that none of the wealthy and intelligent think of this as their permanent abode. Even those born in the islands look upon Europe or America as their real home, and sigh for the time when they shall have secured wealth or competence, and can fly to a distant land. The United States are at a decided premium among all I have met. The nature of the climate, and many other causes, forbid any great intellectual activity. What there is shows itself principally in the department of Natural History. For

the study of botany and conchology these islands have hardly an equal.

C. P. K. TO N. N.

St. Thomas, January 2, 1853.

The opening which, in the providence of God, was made for me to labor as a minister, has caused my time to pass rapidly and pleasantly. In two more weeks I expect to lay down my commission. I shall look upon my pastoral engagement here, as the most remarkable event of my life.* Next Sunday I am to preach a special sermon to young men.

I often talk of our "young guard" at home. Few churches have such a set of young members as ours at Winchester. O, that all the precious souls, for which we have labored and prayed there, might be brought to the cross of Christ! I hope that some of those of whom we have so often spoken together, may be found in the membership of the church when I return.

I would like to know how each one is getting on. Why have so few written to us? Those who did, presumed that others had given us the news, and so we got very little. How does the choir get on? I hope its meetings are well attended, and that they are aiming at ever increasing perfection. The music I have heard here, has generally been poor. I long to hear the sweet notes of our organ, and the voices of choir and people. The Sunday I was in New York, the rain drove me into Trinity Church, but for some fault in the music, or in me—most probably the latter—I enjoyed it very little.

Religion in St. Thomas has had vast obstacles through which to struggle; but all agree that there has been an immense advance on its former condition.

* It is an interesting fact that the Dutch Reformed parsonage in which Mr. Krauth resided in St. Thomas, was occupied later by the Rev. W. O. Allan, a son-in-law of Dr. John Duncan of Edinburgh. Dr. Duncan visited his children there in 1862; so that within ten years both fathers-in-law of the present writer lived under the same roof in the West Indies.

CHARLIE'S LETTER.

The following letter was actually sent from the West Indies to a little boy in Winchester, Va. The question of its authorship was long a mooted one in the family circle in which it originated. The part of the family which did not accept the canon that we are to "believe, because the thing is impossible," cherished doubts, but were cautious of expressing them. The little fellow to whom the letter was imputed did not recollect having written it, and was not aware, in fact, that he was able to write. He was sure he could not read, and had no recollection whatever of having written anything, except on his slate, and that in the picture language, the only true universal language. When, however, the letter was read to him, he was thrown into a state of profound mystification, as it was a faithful record of what he had said and done, and of his thoughts, so far as thoughts may be gathered from words and acts. On the whole, he concluded he had written it (perhaps with a confused notion of the pre-existent state, as a solvent of his leading difficulties), and ultimately referred to it, not without some ostentation, as indubitably his own production. The nurse, the moment she heard the allusion to the pantaloons with the red stripes, never doubted that it was a *bona fide* literal production of her "little master." She was prepared to believe any wonder of a boy who had had the benefit of *her* nursing, and she had too few literary ideas to have any difficulty about a theory, simply because it pre-supposed the truth of Dogberry's famous apothegm in regard to the source of reading and writing. Our own opinion is midway between these extremes which may be characterized as the sceptical and the credulous. We think it was actually written by its alleged author—constructively.

St. Thomas, January 6, 1853.

MASTER ALBERT BEE—My Youthful Friend: Whether so great a traveller as myself, who have suffered and

seen much by land and sea, can, without a compromise of dignity, write to a youth whose movements have all been inland, I cannot entirely decide. You are, indeed, my dear Alf, somewhat my senior, but what makes the true age of a man? Of a man, I say, for Sally is making me a pair of pantaloons, with real pockets, and a beautiful crimson stripe down each leg, with a jacket to match, with dear little bobtails, most like a coat; and at Christmas I had a watch with real hands and an elegant chain, all of pure gold, which was taken from me, because, somehow, it made my hands smell as if I had been turning a door-knob or holding a green cent. What makes the true age of a man? Not the years he has breathed. No, it is experience—especially experience of sea-sickness. That is the thing to turn your hair gray in a night, if anything can. Mine has been not exactly gray, but a very light yellow ever since. More than anything else, sea-sickness has kept me duly humble, for after having endured it, you require several months to attain an ordinary self-respect. You do not know how much is due to it of my willingness to condescend to keep up an acquaintance with you land-lubbers—for such truth compels me to call you who have never smelt salt water. It was trying, indeed, to me to be so sick, not for my own sake—I hope I am too much of a man for that—but as I had come out entirely for the purpose of taking care of Pa, Ma, and Sally, I assure you it was very mortifying to find that even the effort to lift my head to ask how they were, was followed by a sensation which, like Niagara Falls, is highly indescribable, though often described, and which, unlike most novelties, was far from pleasing. That grown people, my dear boy, should be so attacked, is not at all surprising; but that we hale fellows of three to six years of age, who do not smoke, nor drink strong coffee, nor read the political newspapers, nor do anything else calculated to foment bile, should be so easily made sea-sick is very singular. I suppose the reason is the one I often hear given by people around me for all sorts of

things—" It's human nature "—of which even we, whom the adults so arrogantly call children, have some share. The second night we were at sea it was awfully stormy. I was lying in my berth, dreaming of your esteemed sister, the lovely Miss Emma Bee, the paragon of the smaller specimens of the gentler sex, to whom, *en passant* (I have learned French here from the parrots, all of which speak select portions of several languages), please give a kiss for me, and the " assurance of my distinguished consideration." I was dreaming, I say, when I was suddenly aroused by my venerable father, who, by a lurch of the vessel, was pitched headlong over me from a sofa in the state-room, and who was so astounded that, after satisfying himself by my vigorous roar that I was not killed, he lay perfectly still by my side till morning. Never take grown people under your care in travelling, if you can avoid it; they are very troublesome, and then probably repay with ingratitude your efforts to serve them. When I saw Pa and Ma so sick, I almost wished I had left them at home. As for Sally, of course she was too sick to be of any use. I think in future I shall take a man-servant with me when I travel.

I need hardly tell you I was glad to see land. I never knew where the German town-makers (in the toy-boxes, you know) got their models—but as soon as I saw St. Thomas, I knew—red roofs, white walls, green jalousies (shutters on pivots), all like the town in the box which was sent from Philadelphia for my sister, and which I took with me to the West Indies to keep Pa and Ma quiet with. The first thing that struck me here was the swarms of black people; the next, the parrots; the third, a monkey, at a grocery store, with a long tail (the monkey I mean), and a great facility as regarded locomotion, grinning and ground-nuts. The fourth thing was the young cocoanut milk (a delicacy much exaggerated by previous travellers, yet not so bad); the fifth, the market held on the ground beneath the tamarind trees, with vegetables, fruits, bright cotton handkerchiefs, and glass

beads at the one end, and, at a little distance from the other articles of traffic, all sorts of brilliant fishes, looking as if they had been boiled in a gold pot in a dye of liquefied rainbow. I walked down street (they call a street Gaudy here) to buy a hat for the summer of this tropical winter; got one real sailor-style, trimmed with broad, yellow ribbons, spotted with red, and about a yard extra to swing behind—a regular slap-up affair—which, with my red cheeks (even hard drinking won't make or keep faces red in this sallow clime), rendered me a somewhat conspicuous object, and soon drew something of a crowd around me on the shady steps of the hotel. I improved the opportunity to impart to those who favored me with their attention, a somewhat circumstantial account of all I knew, and, I blush to confess, of considerably more ranging somewhat freely in the regions of fancy, which, however, seems to be all that is left a poor fellow when he *must* talk, and yet has run out of facts. I told them that where I lived in America the streets were paved with round sugar-cake, and the curb-stones were ginger-bread as it comes from the pan; that our trees bore several kinds of sugar-plums, and that one kind, not uncommon in our forests, at the proper season, was filled with masculine and feminine doll-babies, clothed in the latest fashion, and able to cry when you pinched them, as also to roll up their eyes and be fed with a spoon. This was *partly* true, for I alluded to Christmas trees. Pausing a moment to take breath, I told them that all our hydrants ran with milk, nicely sweetened, and that a silver cup, with the words on it, "For a good boy that never tells stories," was hung to each; that I had a white pony with a nice tail, like my pa's shaving-brush, and that this pony ate burnt almonds out of my hand every day, and occupied a neat crib by the side of my trundle-bed every night. I spoke of a squirrel I had, which I briefly designated by the cognomen of "Bun," which could turn summersets and eat up silk umbrellas. I told them I always

wore boots, standing collars, and coats, at home, though, for reasons on which I declined entering, I had chosen the incognito of a linen slip while abroad. I asked if they had such a thing as an organ in St. Thomas, and told them that the one in our church is as large as a house. I gave them a minute account of my interview with General Tom Thumb, who, I assured them, was really no larger than my thumb; and seeing something like incredulity in their countenances, I wickedly made the matter worse, if that were possible, by asserting that, on second thought, I was satisfied he was no larger than my little finger—that he had told me in strict confidence that every word in the little story-book about him was literally true, and that the part about his going to Fairyland on the back of a butterfly was more true than all the rest. I wound up by telling them all I knew of everybody's private history at home, that I was by unanimous confession the best boy in Christendom, and that if I had any defect whatever, it was that I stuck too closely to the strictest truth in every statement. I cannot tell you how many first-rate jokes I cracked, while I was narrating my story after the manner of the great Sindbad, whom I had taken as my model. I laughed heartily at my jokes myself, and swung my ribbon and threw up my right foot, for it is impossible to feel that you are the greatest personage in the world and not show it. During all this, the dark ladies, with their eyes shining, their mouths spread in wonder, their bodies swaying sympathetically with my movements, offered short prayers that my "little soul" might be blessed; but as I knew I was fibbing awfully (and the more wonderful the story the more fervent was the ejaculation, "Bless his little soul!"), I had serious doubts whether their well-meant petitions were likely to be answered.

Though I had expected to sail for Santa Cruz the night we arrived, yet with that deference which the prejudices of society exact even from a youth of three years and a half toward his father, I consented to remain that he might fulfil an engagement here. I am not sorry that I did so.

Virtue is its own reward. We are in a charming house, with a big yard, over which the lizards are darting in every direction; the trellises are loaded with grapes; and from our front windows (without glass in them) we command a splendid view of the harbor, which is always gay with the shipping of every nation. We see every movement of the soldiers marching in the barrack-yard of the fort. We hear the drum beat, and the gun fire, morning and night, the bells chiming the watches on the ships, the singing of the sailors and of the Creoles; and wherever the crimson flag of Denmark, with its white cross, is waving among the palms, it meets our eye.

The conduct of the young ladies here, as everywhere else, forces me, with all my modesty, to feel that I am a very fascinating fellow. It is a mournful reflection that I must leave so many broken hearts when I take my departure; the thought of it would quite take my appetite, if it were not so very good.

There is a first-rate chap on our hill, Henry Gee, whom I sometimes call on. He has a pet deer, of which I am *not at all afraid*, but the thing has no tail, or next to none, so that instinctively, I know not why, I get behind Henry when it comes. He has also two charming guinea-pigs, which I like very much to look at, *when they stay in the box; not that I am afraid*, but they have *teeth*, and the most unblenching valor like mine should be tempered with discretion. Show me any animal, however frightful, which has a tail that is a tail, and has no teeth, and I'm not afraid of it, not the least. Oh, no.

I had a glorious time at Christmas—got more presents than if I had been at home. Among other things, Mr. Pea (the father of Minnie Pea, the dearest little girl in the world except *one*), sent me a geographical game, with everything, except the pictures, in the German language; a delicate compliment to my knowledge of that beautiful tongue, and one which I cannot appreciate too highly. I have not time to tell you what lots of things I have. I have a gold pencil, and a drummer, who, on the turning

of a wire, produces some very fine, though rather monotonous music, apparently from beneath his feet. I have a hairy spectre, with a large nose and wire ribs, who jumps extemporaneously out of a box when you go to take a pinch of snuff; a waggling Mandarin, destitute of legs, yet with a visage of constant cheerfulness, and able to get at once upon his feet, put him down as you please. A lady gave me a real West India calabash (it is the growth of a tree), quaintly carved and gilded. I have, moreover, a box of tin soldiers, of two nations, with a cannon which is loaded with hard peas. You shoot alternately ten times at each of the sets, and the nation that has most knocked over is whipped. I always set the British with the broadside to the artillery, and they are cruelly beaten in every battle. I have, besides, a trumpet, a jews-harp, and a Danish flag (somewhat soiled, and now in wash), not to speak of my watch, which, as I told you in the early part of this letter, has been taken from me; or, of more perishable things, such as joints of sugar-cane, oranges, guavas, star-apples, and young cocoa-nuts, of which I have always more than I can use. You can get along pretty well in the eating way here, when you get accustomed to their singular hours. We have potato breakfast at ten o'clock, dinner at five or six in the evening, and tea the next morning as soon as you get up, or before, if you choose. We have fruit at breakfast, and soup and fish always at dinner. The cookery, as far as I see into it, goes on the principle of putting everything into everything. How would you like barley soup, sweetened with sugar, and flavored with slices of salt herring? That wasn't on *our* table, but I saw and tasted it. It very nearly brought on a relapse of sea-sickness.

I have seen so much of the soldiers since I came, that I have rather made up my mind what to be. I used, in my young days, to think of being a preacher, but my riper experience has satisfied me that the work is too hard. I shall be a drummer; he makes the most noise, and marches before the rest. He is much better paid

than many poor preachers. When a hole is shot in his drum he gets a new one, and retires on a pension when he can make noise no longer; in all which he has manifestly the advantage over a preacher.

All the charms of the tropics, however, do not make me forget home. Kartoffel Hill, I see thee still; in my mind's eye, I homeward fly, and many a face of friends I trace. I see the curls of the little girls, and shake the hand of the little band of merry boys, full of fun and noise.

I am afraid that you may think my letter is hardly solid enough, but this climate makes a man's brain feel like a stewed oyster. In my next, however, I shall give you at large my views of the advantages of the Federal Constitution over the Danish Monarchical-absolutism; and must now close, as I have a positive engagement to take a game of jack-straws with Minnie Pea.

Believe me, though an ocean rolls between us,

Your ever faithful friend,

CHARLES KAY, JR.

P. S.—How will you swop those boots you got before I left, on a gold pencil? Will you take my gold watch to boot? If so, keep them till I come back; or perhaps you would prefer the hairy spectre?

C. P. K. TO N. N.

St. Thomas, January 17, 1853.

I preached yesterday morning my closing sermon, on Luke xv. 7, 10. I have been favored with very large congregations, both on Sunday and at Wednesday night lecture. My ministry here has been pleasant, indeed, and, I hope, may prove, in the last great day, not to have been without profit. Our continued intercourse with the society of St. Thomas has only deepened our impression of its high refinement and warm-hearted kindness. Few strangers have had the opportunity I have had of seeing the real character of the inhabitants. I have seen and mingled with all classes, and know the people better than I could have known them after years of ordinary inter-

course. It seems a strange, dream-like leaf in my history that I have been in actual ministerial service at the tropics, visiting the sick, burying the dead, and preaching that precious Gospel whose power is dependent on nothing that difference of race or of clime can affect. It is one proof of the unity of the great brotherhood of man that the gospel brings forth the same fruits among all its families. Daily do I feel more profoundly that it is, indeed, the power of God to salvation; and if it should please a gracious Father to restore me to my beloved people, I feel that I shall be strengthened to labor more fervently and untiringly in the great work of the ministry.

I was a little alarmed when I heard that my letter had been read in prayer-meeting; but, as you read but a part, I am sure that if there was anything not in keeping with the sacredness of the place, or calculated to "offend the weak," you would omit it. I wish to write with freedom to my friends, and must rely upon their judgment as to any use they may make of my letters.

We have been preserved through the hours of the sickliest season ever known here. I have been brought face to face with the pestilence. I was satisfied that it was not contagious, and felt that He who had opened to me the path of duty here would protect me in it. We learn that the most exaggerated rumors have been circulated in the United States in regard to the yellow fever here. The mortality in the fort and harbor has been awful. The graveyards look as though an immense ploughshare had been run through them. The last sick person I visited, died with it the morning after my last call. Her skin was deep orange yellow, which remained after death. The disease is usually preceded by depression of spirits, and unaccountable feebleness; nausea, chilliness, pains over the whole body, suffusion of the eyes, dim or double sight, confusion of mind, and drowsy restlessness, follow. Almost everything that is horrible in disease attends it; and, finally, the countenance becomes collapsed, the eye loses its fulness, dark blotches appear on the body, the

pulse is like a thread, the tongue presents a fiery appearance, and the globules of blood, which have oozed through the mucous membrane, are thrown off by a last effort of nature, in the form of the black vomit, and the scene is soon over. The young and robust are most exposed to it; more among the whites than the blacks, and many more among males than among females. The physicians practice here on what some people would call the "good old system"—meet the disease with all the fury of the Materia Medica, give tremendous draughts of physic, bleed frightfully, and blister and torment in general, in every way the imagination of man can devise; and, between such a terrific disease and these terrific remedies, the poor patient almost always dies. I am happy to say that it has very nearly disappeared. My acquaintance with it I shall put down as another memorable leaf in the diary of my life. I have felt that the prayers of my people have been heard for us. Fervently do we pray for you all day by day. Our love for home burns only with the more intensity during our separation from it. We feel that we would not be willing, even to prolong life, to spend it in a foreign clime.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

St. Thomas, W. I., January 19, 1853.

My ministerial engagement has expired, Mr. Knox having returned to his post by the last steamer. I have had many flattering evidences that I was not unacceptable to the people. On Wednesday night I have had at lecture from eight hundred to one thousand hearers. I found that here, as everywhere, the most finished sermons I could read did not excite the attention of ex tempore or spoken discourses.

"Survey mankind from China to Peru,"
The fact is clear, read sermons will not do.

Please send immediately two copies of the last *Review*, six copies of last "College Catalogue," four copies of

"Seminary" to me. I can make use of them here. There is no reason why we should not get students for our institutions from the West Indies. I am happy to state that the yellow fever has nearly disappeared from St. Thomas. It prevailed to an extent such as has never been known. We expect in a few days to go to Santa Cruz.

MRS. KRAUTH TO HER DAUGHTER.

St. Croix, February 12, 1853.

My hand is trembling; I cannot write very well. Every month I want to see you more and more. I think of you a great deal, and at night, when I cannot sleep, you are before me. O how happy we will all be if I get home again. I am very weak and cough a great deal. I look forward with some hope, but I expect you will have to wait on me and nurse me a great deal. I can't go about the room as I used to, and Charlie often waits on me.

Everywhere we see fruit on the trees and the flowers are lovely, but give me "Old Virginia." Charlie often asks Pa to play "Carry me back" when he picks up his flute.

C. P. K. TO MRS. M.

West End, Santa Cruz, March 15, 1853.

There is a distinct pleasure in hearing *from* friends over and above hearing *of* them. It is pleasant to us to hear that our letters are prized by friends at home, but they can hardly realize our emotions on receiving letters in a distant land from those who are dear to us. We often talk of the affectionate parting of the group of friends who accompanied us to Harper's Ferry. Our talk is of scenes at home through which we have passed, and of our hopes of renewed happiness amid them, if a gracious Father permits us to return. We have greatly enjoyed the lovely climate and drives on this island. So far there has been a certain gain over the close rooms and disagreeable weather of home. The kindness of our friends in this island has surrounded us with many of the pleasant feat-

ures of home. You ought to spend a winter in Santa Cruz. Instead of suffering with a sore throat, and hardly less with the remedies and precautions it renders necessary, you could make a tropical bird of yourself, and could be on the wing through flowers and magnificent trees, hovering and singing all day. For all diseases of the throat and chest, except confirmed consumption (and even for that, apparently, in some cases), this island seems to offer almost certain relief. Your kind cautions about exposing myself to the yellow fever came too late. I had gone through it all, and now I almost tremble at the risk I ran at the time. He who marked out the path of duty for me, enabled me to continue in it without solicitude or dread. We are never safe except when we are doing our duty. If, as Christians, we know that our lives are in God's hand, we may be very sure that He will not let us die as long as there is any work for us to do; and except for His service life has no real value.

We had a Lutheran Fair lately at this place, of which I gave a little sketch in a letter to Mr. H.; and, as you say our letters are pretty generally circulated, I shall refer you to that. I can't say that I altogether like their free circulation, as I am not always sure that others may take what I write, in the way in which the friend to whom it is addressed will.

I am afraid Charlie was rather rash in some of his promises to his little friends. "Monkeys and parrots" would be rather troublesome to take home with us; as to the "sugar-cane and figs," promised to Florence and Willy, he may manage better. He enjoys the climate amazingly, and his red cheeks render him quite a curiosity in this region of pallid faces. He has got the tone of the Creoles in talking, exactly, and will make you all laugh when he comes home by the way in which he jerks up the words at the end. In writing to Haddie, yesterday, I asked him what I should tell her for him; and as his answer may interest Florence and Willy, I give it to you: "Tell her I have two kites to-day, and I'm flying them.

I flew a kite one Sunday, when pa and ma didn't know it, but now I am a good boy, and don't do it any more. I have two pencils; one is wood and one is gold. I had two wooden ones, but I threw away one. I have a town and a gun, two ships, and some soldiers riding on horseback, and one of them is blowing a trumpet; and I have a flag in wash, and I have a menagerie and trees, and " (after a considerable pause), " nothing else." We have found him a great enlivener to us, and very little trouble.

I have made the time glide away rapidly by keeping always busy. I have written a great deal since I have been in Santa Cruz; not merely letters, but other matters. I thought I should be able to write sermons this winter, but I have been so much in the habit of working with a distinct object before my mind, and for immediate use, that I cannot work without the usual stimulant. I hope I shall be restored to my dear people stronger in body and fresher in mind than I have been for some time. For a year almost before I left I hardly felt fit to be a pastor. My mind was harassed and anxious, so that often I went through my duties mechanically, and perhaps sometimes, though not consciously, neglected them. But my people are so indulgent and forgiving, that I never would have known from anything in them that they felt it.

C. P. K. TO N. N.

Santa Cruz, March 16, 1853.

This island is in many respects a paradise for invalids; but in others it is anything else, to one accustomed to the comforts of an American home. Few of the houses have windows, and the jalousies, which supply their place, admit the damp air and even the rain. To cut off the dampness, you must exclude the light. Our parlor and chamber have glass windows, but there is not another room in the house that had them when we came; another room has since been furnished with one. The floors are all bare, which looks more uncomfortable than it really is. All families, with few exceptions, live on the second floor,

as the basements are damp, and exposed to insects, such as centipedes, roaches, and scorpions. The centipedes and scorpions are very numerous, but we have never seen any except those that were caught and brought to us. There is a kind of worm, or insect, which gets into the furniture, and, without making any trace on the outside, eats all the inside away, until merely a shell is left. I sat down yesterday on a chair, and it almost went to pieces under me. Persons who are used to this country generally try a chair before they use it. All the candles have a clear, bell-shaped glass shade around them, or they would be extinguished by the powerful draughts of air in a moment. Mosquito-netting is necessary all the year round; and if there were a flea-netting, it, also, would be of service. The mosquitoes which annoy you most have no trumpet-note like ours, and give you no pain until they have carried off your blood. They are specially fond of Charlie.

The cooking would strike you, who are such an experienced house-keeper, as very strange—such odd dishes, variety of seasoning, and strange modes of serving up, you have never seen. There is very little variety in the vegetables. We have Irish and sweet potatoes, yams (which are better than either), tanier (a kind of eatable Indian turnip), pigeon peas (by no means equal to our green peas), small and poor tomatoes. We have sea-fish in great abundance, some of which are very fine. There is some game, and small poultry is common. A turkey costs from two to three dollars, veal and mutton about nine-pence a pound. Rents and servants' hire are low; but to live after our ideas of comfort is very expensive. It is cheaper for the poor and dearer for the rich than with us. It is a lazy, easy, monotonous, yet pleasant, life which is led here. All places of business are shut up between four and five o'clock. The gentlemen all smoke, and that, too, in the company of ladies, which is not so bad as it would be with us, as every place is open, and the segars are good. With all the temptation around me, I

have not, however, acquired the habit. The ladies have little to do but to visit, and, of course, they do a great deal of it. They are generally very pallid, but with fine, dark eyes, and easy, charming manners. The stiffness and pretension which mar society so much in the United States are never seen here in good company. The lady of the Governor of all the Danish Islands is more unpretending than many ladies I have met, who really have nothing in the world of which to be proud.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

Santa Cruz, April 15, 1853.

If a private opportunity offers I shall send you by this steamer a second and much more extended article on the other services of our Church and of the Churches of the Reformation. If it comes in time, it would be well to throw it into one, with the Article on Luther's Formula Missæ, and you will thus give in a single article of the *Review* something worthy of preservation, and more comprehensive than any similar thing with which I am acquainted in the English language. There is much in it, too, which would prove interesting to ministers of other churches. I do not think its length would be objected to, and it would make, perhaps, an opening for the fifth volume.* I hope that Guerike † arrived safely, and that you will like it. It was not easy work, yet, if you desire it, I will give the rest of his portion on the Church. That seems to be the great question of the day, and it appears especially desirable to know what the churches themselves say about it. I hope that where there is any reason to suspect the fidelity of my translation, or there appears to be any want of clearness, you will refer to the works from which I translate. This may be the more necessary as I have had none of the usual and almost in-

* It appeared in the *Review*, October, 1853.

† *Evang. Review*, July, 1853. "The Church as Set Forth in the Confessions of Christendom." Translated from Guerike's "Allgem. Christl. Symbolik."

dispensable apparatus of the translator, except a manual dictionary, extremely defective.

I think the *Evangelical Review* is necessary to the Church, and I feel confident that it will go on; that it will be fairly sustained I am not prepared to say; but it has lived four years without that, and why not four or eight more?

I preached last Sunday week in the Lutheran Church, wore the gown and all that, and found that it left me just as much inclined as ever to preach the Gospel. The formality had not time to strike in; perhaps if I had done the chanting, I should have been done for; as it was, I escaped with very slight injury.

I think I may say now with certainty that I cannot be present at the meeting of the General Synod. . . . I do wish you could be at Winchester a week or two before Synod, and help Mr. Valentine and the Church Officers to make the arrangements. It is a bitter disappointment to me, but it will all be for the best.

C. P. K. TO REV. J. A. SEISS.

Santa Cruz, April 15, 1853.

I have, I believe, thought of you every day in this distant home of ours, and hoped you should have written. I suppose that you know the earlier facts of our insular history, and the later ones are mere ripples in a pleasant monotony. I ordered from the United States some of your "Reflections," and you now have a West Indian, as well as a North American, renown. I was much disappointed that you had not issued your second and revised edition. At the same time, anxious as I am to see and circulate it, I do not urge its publication, if you think that you can ripen it, and bring it more perfectly to the ideal you had before your own mind. The danger in keeping things is, that our ideal may enlarge until in self-disgust we throw away our labors, though others might have judged them more leniently than we do, and have

been benefited by them. I have never sent a single thing to the press without a pang, and not in a single case have I been able to read anything of mine published till long after its appearance. You have done a good work, and, if God spares you, your name will be honored in our Church as long as it endures. If God is pleased to spare us, I hope we shall do much to encourage, stimulate, and aid each other.

I would tell you something about the Lutheran Church in these islands, but as I hope some day to put together an article for the *Review* on the subject, I will spare you. The old forms are kept up, and in their transfer to our anglicized condition there has been no change except in language. I have prepared three articles for the *Review* this winter. One is on our First Sabbath Service, the Formula Missæ of 1523. The second is on the Church, from Guerike. The third is on the Liturgies of the Churches of the Reformation, mainly a translation from Alt. You can hardly conceive how much industry and resolution it requires to write in this climate; but having my time more in my own hands than I ever had in my life, I have worked as regularly almost as if my life (or living) depended on it. I hope your pen has been busy. What we write, to be sure, does not in the commercial sense pay, but if we write to good purpose, its influence will be great. Did it ever strike you that for all their voluminous works the Fathers didn't get a copper, and that the Reformers got just as little, and that the very best things, in the nature of the case, cannot pay as well as the trifling and useless?

I have recently finished the life of Southey. He was more purely a man of letters than any great author England has produced, but he was constantly obliged to lay aside the grand plans of his literary life to write transient articles for his daily bread. I can't say that, on the whole, I would write more if I were to be paid for it. I hope you will stand up for the *Review*, for it has done a good work and will do still more if it is sustained.

I had been looking forward all winter with hope to the meeting of the General Synod, as a time when I should probably be home. I think that I may now say with certainty that I cannot be present. My wife is not strong enough to take the Southern route. Her health has fluctuated much, and although quite recently she has improved somewhat, yet she is feeble. It would not be safe for her to come north this month, and I see not now any probability of being home by May 21. It is a sore disappointment to me, but it will be for the best. It would be folly in me, after coming so far, and running such risks, and making such sacrifices, to peril the loss of all we may have gained, even to be home, much as I desire it, at General Synod. Try to get Dr. Schmidt, of New York, elected President. I don't know anything that would tend more to harmonize the Synod. It would be regarded as an irenical act on the part of the majority. If Schmidt is objected to because he is Lutheran in his sacramental views, it will show the professions of perfect tolerance to be hollow. Carry him in, and give our General Synod as its President one of the noblest, most learned, and distinguished men we have.

TO MR. WM. B. BAKER, WINCHESTER.

Santa Cruz, April 20, 1853.

As to the Bible Society collection, I regret that it was not more, but the fact is that the way in which some of these societies conduct their operations creates a disgust which is not entirely overcome by the excellence of their objects. I have said over and over, that I do not regard the most important work of our Church as lying in any of these great American societies. They can take care of themselves. We have famishing thousands who bear our Church name. Where the minister goes, the Bible will go; whilst, therefore, I am gratified at seeing our people co-operate with all these schemes, I think their great work lies in a different direction.

EIGHTH CHAPTER.

WINCHESTER TO PITTSBURG.

(1853–1859.)

When Mr. Krauth returned from the West Indies to Winchester, in June, 1853, he at once gave himself with renewed zeal and vigor to his pastoral and literary labors. He had, indeed, not been idle even on those far-away islands of St. Thomas and Santa Cruz, having prepared several articles for the *Evangelical Review*, which appeared after his return, such as: "The Church as Set Forth in the Confessions of Christendom," translated from Guerike's "Symbolik" (see *Evangelical Review*, July, 1853); "The Services of the Church of the Reformation, on the Basis of Alt's Cultus," translated, with additions; (*Evangelical Review*, October, 1853.) The work on the translation of Tholuck's "Commentary to the Gospel of St. John" was then undertaken, and carried on most vigorously. At the same time he took a very special interest in the success of the *Evangelical Review*, to which he was anxious to contribute as regularly as possible. His letters to his father are almost exclusively confined to this subject. He is very frank and outspoken in his criticism, advice, and suggestions. He is anxious that the standard of the *Review* should be kept as high as possible. He urges his father to write far more, and publish more of what he had written, instead of hiding his candle under a bushel. He throws out a number of themes on which he would like to see articles written either by the editor himself or by his friends and colaborers. (See letters, p. 307 ff.)

The health of Mrs. Krauth had not improved after her return from the West Indies. Through the summer of 1853, though not entirely confined to her bed, she was constantly growing weaker. She bore her sufferings with remarkable patience and even cheerfulness, and on November 18, 1853, she fell asleep in Jesus in triumphant faith. In a letter of December 15, Charles P. Krauth writes to his father: "I have had very little heart for writing. My trust in God is perfectly unshaken, but I have very desolate hours. The pain rather grows than diminishes. I keep up an outward cheerfulness, but it is hard work. I cannot yet realize that the grave lies between me and her who was so dear to my heart. Her holy life and triumphant death remain to cheer me, yet even they weigh down my heart with the consciousness of how much I have lost. I am meditating a journey from home in January. I wish to be absent a month, and to go probably as far north as Boston. I must resort to something effectual to break the present current of my thoughts and feelings. I would like to spend a week in Boston, a week in New York, a week in Philadelphia."

The following lines from his pen appeared in a Winchester paper of December 30, 1853:

A TRIBUTE.

"Where a rainbow toucheth, there breatheth forth a sweet smell."—Lord Bacon: "*Sylva Sylvarum.*"

How wearily life lingers on
  Since thou, my light, art fled;
The hours on which thy glory shone
  Lie with thee 'mid the dead.

I gazed upon thy snowy brow,
  I pressed my lips to thine,
But e'en that sad, deep gladness, now
  Can never more be mine.

How agonizing memory tracks
The words and acts of years,
And from forgotten hours, awakes
A thousand thoughts for tears.

As beams the conscious eye with day,
Glad in the power to see,
I knew I was not made of clay,
Because I treasured thee.

Yet fond as I believed my love,
I loved thee not enough;
Sweet one, thou never wouldst reprove,
Ah! this is my reproof.

In meekness didst thou fade from earth,
Soft was thy parting breath;
Oh! better than the day of birth
To thee, the day of death.

Calmly in Jesus now thou sleep'st,
Thine earthly fetters riven,
And with seraphic pinion sweep'st
The cloudless light of heaven.

Six years alone our babe had lain,
Six years ago she died;
The darling that we lost, again
Sleeps by her mother's side.

In beauty, but without its pride,
I wooed thee in thy bloom;
Love will not think of years—my bride
I laid thee in the tomb.

The moon, whose silvery light we blessed
Through gladness and through pain,
Cheered us, as hand in hand we pressed,
Waxing without a wane.

Light was thy step where sorrow bled;
Thy presence staunched the wound,
And like a rainbow's touch would shed
Fragrance on all around.

Lovelier thou wert with every year,
Ripening with every day,
Nearer to angels—ah! too near,
They claimed and bore away.

Thou wert my strength in every good,
My prop in every ill;
Bless thee! though thou hast passed the flood,
Thine accents cheer me still.

Thy low, sweet words yet fill my ear,
Thy hand yet rests in mine;
And with my children bowed in prayer,
I feel they still are thine.

Two of the circle linger yet
Where thy young breath was drawn,
But few may be the suns that set
Ere all thou lov'dst are gone.

Mid Tropic flowers, thy dimming eye
Still spoke the inward peace;
Thy soul was brighter than its sky,
And clearer than its seas.

Vainly its constellations burned,
Balmy its breezes sighed;
Thy prayer to Heaven for home was turned,
Thy prayer was not denied.

Yes, 'mid the scenes thou lov'dst so well,
With dear ones gathering round,
When chimed the noon's dividing bell
Thy form was lifeless found.

Thy sufferings hallow many a spot,
A murmur clouds not one;
In anguish closed thy course, but not
Impatient didst thou run.

I marked thy life-pulse daily fail,
But when the rose was past
I saw the lily, sweet though pale,
Lovely unto the last.

A pallid glory beamed on thee,
All heaven around thee shone;
Thy last faint gasp was victory,
Thy dying couch a throne.

O Saviour, pity and forgive,
If in the first despair,
The joy of heaven for which I live,
Is, that my wife is there.

O Grave, how sacred is thy power!
Though strewn with buds thou art,
Poor are they, to that spotless flower
Thou hidest in thy heart.

In October, 1854, C. P. Krauth delivered a discourse suggested by the burning of the old Lutheran Church on the night of September 27, 1854, which, at the request of several prominent citizens of Winchester, was published. It was based on the passage, Isaiah lxiv. 11, "Our holy and our beautiful house, where our fathers praised Thee, is burned up with fire." We quote from it the following characteristic passages as worthy of special interest:

Early History of the Lutheran Church in Winchester.

On the fifteenth of May, 1753, Lord Fairfax granted certain lots in the "Addition to the Town of Winchester" for the use of the German Lutheran Church. At the meeting of the Synod of Pennsylvania, the mother of all our Lutheran Synods, in 1762, the Lutheran Church at Winchester was received into synodical connection. Two years later, April 16, 1764, the cornerstone of our church was laid. When the black cloud of Indian warfare was scowling over our colonies, and every heart was throbbing with the horrors of a merciless warfare, our fathers laid the foundation of a temple which was to stand when the savages had melted away like snow, and the French with whom they were allied had undergone mutation on mutation—a temple which was to witness the birth and growth of the greatest of nations. Eight years later, in 1772, after great expenses had been incurred, the walls were completed, on which even women had labored with their own hands, the rafters raised, and workmen were busy in covering and finishing the church. The growing troubles which ripened into our revolution seem to have suspended the work. During the revolution the church was used as barracks, and the traces of smoke from fires built within it, were visible upon the walls till they were plastered over. In 1785, when Rev. Christian Streit took charge of the congregation, the church had neither

doors nor windows, and in the following year funds were raised for its completion by a lottery. The proposals were printed in Frederick, Md. The spire was not erected as part of the original structure. In 1790, two bells of wonderful sweetness were cast in Bremen, expressly for this church, as the inscription on the one which still remains states. It was long the custom to ring them on Saturday evening, to remind men of the approach of the day of rest. The larger one was unfortunately broken while tolling to announce a death. About 1795, the organ was placed in the church, where it remained until the summer of the present year (1854), when it was taken down and removed to be used in a German Lutheran church in Baltimore.

The church was constructed with the utmost solidity, built of the old gray limestone, down upon the rock. It ascended slowly because the expenses of building were enormous, and workmen difficult to procure at any price, and because our fathers would contract no debts in building.

The Fathers.

Those rough, hard-handed old fathers of ours were not without feeling, not without taste. The very location of the church they reared availed itself of an effect, taken without money or price from the hand of Nature, an effect which it would have cost thousands of dollars to produce by mere art, and which then would not have been so perfectly secured. The church swept with its sober glance almost to the horizon. Clear out from all buildings, on a wide-commanding hill, it received from the eye of the observer part of that reverent regard which it is the highest triumph of architecture to share with Nature. O'er valleys and the silvery traces of the Shenandoah to the blue mountains on the East, o'er forests and the lake-like undulations of hills to the blue-gray mountains on the West, the eye wandered, till it was drawn to the venerable church and fixed by it as an adjunct,

half of Nature, half of Art, to the scene, a venerable daysman harmonizing two powers not unwilling to be reconciled. It formed a more vivid object in the memory than the whole town which lay beneath it. It took a place in the mind by the side of forests and rivers and hills; by its uses and its site linking earth and heaven, a thing dear to man, to Nature, and to God. Our fathers fell asleep. Many of them were good and wise men. They had their faults, but happy will it be for us if posterity shall not see that our faults are more serious than theirs. Happy shall we be if we leave to those that follow us as much as our fathers left to us. They were Germans, not ashamed of their origin. We do not claim that our fathers were men of noble blood; it was noble enough, however, to make strong arms, rational brains, and stout hearts. Theirs was the majesty of unpretending self-reliance, the stern independence which the resolve to toil promises, and the toil itself secures. Their motto was: "By working the workman is made." (Arbeit macht den Meister.) Some derided their broken English, but they could not often deride them for broken promises, however they might sneer at them for being so cautious in making promises. Some who never knew the value of a dollar because they never made one, despised the economy which refused to squander what severe labor had won. Men laughed at the rough scales in which, whether an idea looked like silver or like brass, our fathers persisted in weighing it. They kept the even tenor of their way. Clinging perhaps more tenaciously to their language and usages because they felt that they were the subjects of an indirect persecution, on they moved, soberly and calmly, building up fortunes and demolishing English, in their own fashion. Time, the great test of all things, has shown that they were wise men. While families of other national stocks have vanished in their posterity, our fathers have grown stronger in theirs. That surely is not wise that tends to annihilation; and when we see the names of the deriders passing away, and those of the de-

rided abiding, we are forced to ask, if we admit the claim of the former to have had more knowledge, was there not more wisdom shown by the latter—if the one had more intelligence, had not the other more good sense? I for one am quite satisfied with my patent of nobility furnished by the appearance of two ancestral names in the old Latin record of 1764, and shall be satisfied to leave to my children a name as truly honorable.

The Confession of the Fathers.

We know on general grounds our fathers' principles, but an ancient paper has been discovered within a few years, through which they seem to speak to us out of their tombs. It is a discolored paper, reduced to fragments by time, but with every word legible, the Latin record of the aims of the builders, designed by them for the corner-stone of the church: "In the name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the foundations of this temple of God have been laid. This temple is consecrated to the Triune God." To the blessed Three, the Undivided One, they reared this house. It was hallowed by the doctrine to whose preservation and extension it was consecrated. Their view of freedom of conscience was not that of the indifference which mingles and confounds truth and error. "It is consecrated," says that same old document, "to our Evangelical Religion only, to the exclusion forever of sects, whatever name they may bear, and of all dissenting from, or not truly assenting to, our Evangelical Lutheran Religion." They did not simply say, "We consecrate it to religion" (though that would have been enough if none were in error as to what religion is, for even the Pagan calls his dark superstition religion) not simply "to the Christian religion," (for the Mormon calls his beastly materialism the Christian religion), but they used that definite term which placed their meaning beyond question, just as they found it necessary, amid the "gods many and lords

many," to say not simply "to God," but to "the one God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." Knowing that their religion was no novelty, they placed the house beyond the invasion of error by consecrating it to the faith they confessed, and to that alone. And when they said, "Our Evangelical Lutheran faith," what did they mean? They meant to confess the supremacy of God alone over the conscience, the divine authority of the Bible in every question of faith and life, the great doctrines of human corruption and loss, of the repairing and healing of our stricken nature in Jesus Christ, the regenerating power of the Holy Ghost, salvation by grace, justification by faith (which works holiness by love), the uncontaminated sacraments, unbroken in their external essentials, untouched at their heart by the worm of unbelief. To these great doctrines, old as Christianity and enduring as eternity, to these precious doctrines, which after the lapse of nearly a hundred years are still preached to their descendants, and still show their saving power in many of their hearts, our fathers hallowed this church. Yet, though they sought to prevent any wresting from its legitimate ends, the church they reared was marked by many an act of fellowship with the other portions of the body of Christ. Its pulpit has been filled at various times by ministers of almost every prominent branch of the church; at its altar the invitation has been given again and again "to all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, of whatever name or denomination," to approach and partake in the Holy Supper. The Rev. William Meade, now the venerable bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia, administered on one occasion the Holy Communion, after our own form, to the worshippers there, who were then destitute of a pastor, and at a subsequent period the Episcopal congregation worshipped in our church for some time. In the earlier efforts of the German Reformed Church to revive their interests here they had the use of it repeatedly; and during the past summer it was our privilege to place it un-

der the control of our Methodist brethren, during their temporary privation of a place of worship.

The Rev. Christian Streit.

Though preceded by transient supplies, he may be regarded as the father of our Church in this place. Christian Streit was the first, or certainly one of the very first, of the Lutheran clergymen who were born in this country. All the rest of his era of whom we know anything were natives of Germany. This venerable man, who so long, so faithfully, and so successfully labored in his ministrations of love, entered on his toils in this place July 19, 1785. He commenced at once to preach both in German and English, and to act as the untitled but true bishop of all our congregations in this portion of the Valley of Virginia. He at once took steps for completing the church. Our congregation were worshipping, at the time of his coming, in the log church on the hill. But they soon had the happiness of occupying a house of worship of their own. For twenty-seven years they enjoyed the faithful preaching, the spotless example, and the untiring pastoral attentions of one of the most unpretending and good men with whom a church has ever been blessed. In the sixty-third year of his age (1812) he was called from toil and sorrow to his reward.

Years afterward, in a letter to Dr. D. M. Gilbert, who had asked his advice with reference to a suitable monument for Christian Streit, Dr. C. P. Krauth suggested the inscription: "The just man walketh in his integrity; his children are blessed after him."

It was a granddaughter of this venerable patriarch of the Lutheran Church in the Valley of Virginia, Miss Virginia Baker, who became Mr. Krauth's second wife, in May, 1855. Dr. Charles Philip Krauth was much grat-

ified that his choice had fallen on a descendant of that beloved and revered father in Israel, whose family record was linked with the earliest of the Lutheran Church history in this country. For Christian Streit's father was one of Henry Melchior Mühlenberg's warmest friends on the Raritan in New Jersey, and had come over to Providence to be married by him. His son, after years of labor at Easton, Charleston, and New Hannover, had settled at Winchester, founded and built up churches throughout a wide district, trained men for the ministry, and established a female seminary in connection with Dr. Hill. His daughter's house (Mrs. Jacob Baker's) had for many years entertained all Lutheran ministers who journeyed past or visited Winchester. Charles P. Krauth's second wife was a daughter of this hospitable house. (See Dr. B. M. Schmucker's "Memorial," p. 12.)

As early as January 8, 1855, an invitation was extended to C. P. Krauth by the Church Council of the First English Lutheran Church in Pittsburg, Pa., "to visit Pittsburg and preach to the congregation at as early a day as convenient." It reached him at a time when he was very much encouraged concerning his pastoral work in Winchester, and his decision was very prompt. In a letter, dated Winchester, January 24, 1855, and addressed to Messrs. George Weyman, George Hubley, and Thomas H. Lane, Committee of Correspondence, he expressed his conviction that he ought to continue his labors in Winchester.

In regard to the spiritual state of the congregation in Winchester, and the steady and encouraging progress of his work, he wrote about the same time to his friend Rev. J. A. Seiss, who had assisted him in a communion season, in the following language:

C. P. K. TO REV. JOS. A. SEISS.

January 31, 1855.

The meeting continued with evidences of divine power, and was not closed until Sunday night last. The Sunday night after you left seven were confirmed, and on last Sunday night eleven more, making in all twenty-one during this meeting. There are still some inquirers, and another application for membership was made to me this morning. Thirteen of the twenty-one are males, and twelve of the whole number heads of families. No use has been made at any stage of the "anxious bench," nor of animal stimulus of any sort. Here is an old church, of a century's standing, which under the labors of little over six years has had an addition of over one hundred and forty members, more than doubling her communion.

That element of the "Anxious Bench" has done incalculable mischief in our Church in weakening the cause of genuine revivals. It has given the only ground on which the opponents of revivals could stand, for when men say protracted meetings, active personal efforts, and the anxious bench stand and fall together, they say just what the opponents of the whole thing want. I say they do not stand together, but that the anxious bench is the fly in the ointment which will make the rest stink. If we wish to make protracted meetings a permanent agency for good, we must exclude the anxious bench, which is questionable at best and often unspeakably mischievous.

Though Mr. Krauth had declined the invitation to visit Pittsburg, and abandoned even the purpose of going there for personal reasons, mainly "because the visit at this time might be misunderstood," there was one man at least who was determined that he would not be beaten off so easily. This was Thomas H. Lane, who afterward became one of his dearest and most intimate

friends. He visited him in Winchester, at the request of the Committee on Correspondence, in February, 1855, and succeeded in arranging a trip to Pittsburg in the latter part of February.

Chas. P. Krauth left Winchester on February 19, and, after stopping in Baltimore with Mr. Reynolds' family, in Harrisburg with his friend Rev. Chas. A. Hay, and at Greensburg with Rev. M. Valentine, reached Pittsburg on February 24. His journey across the mountains is thus graphically described by him in a letter to Miss Baker, from Greensburg, February 23, 1855: "I left Harrisburg yesterday about one o'clock and was soon hurrying by the chill river and through the leafless forests to the mountain range of Western Pennsylvania. We reached the wildest portions after night, but the moon, about which clouds were drifting, cast her fitful gleam upon them, adding more sublimities than the absence of sunshine concealed. The road is cut through the mountains, and from their sides, where the veins of springs had been touched, there now hung cataracts of ice. The snow lay heavy upon the ground, and in every direction the circles of the mounds, where coal was being burned into coke, cast a lurid light upon it. I enjoyed with a sort of deep, pensive pleasure the rushing into the heart of night and darkness, which seemed to grow thicker and blacker as the hours passed on. The sky lowered more and more with a gathering snow-storm, and the wild mountain winds seemed to rush upon the sweeping train as though they would arrest it or hurl it from the track."

In Pittsburg, Chas. P. Krauth was the guest of Mr. Graff. He officiated during a communion season, preaching the preparatory sermon on Friday evening, the principal sermon on Sunday morning, and assisting at the communion service in the afternoon.

The impression made on the congregation was such as to result in the immediate presentation of a formal call to become their pastor, dated March 5, 1855.

The importance of the field in Pittsburg was urged on him in the following lines from Rev. W. A. Passavant, the former pastor of the congregation, dated March 8, 1855:

Through the instrumentality of the Church in Pittsburg, the Pittsburg Synod was organized just ten years ago, and during this time seventy-two Lutheran churches within our bounds have been consecrated, and the Gospel has been carried to Canada on the North, and to Texas on the South. So, too, the Church in Pittsburg occupies a central position between the East and the West, and whatsoever is done for religion here tells promptly on the Church in either direction. The position a pastor occupies here gives him access to many minds from different portions of the land, and the seed thus scattered and diffused often springs up again in different parts of the most Western States. After a residence of nearly eleven years in this place, I can safely say that I know of no place in the whole Church where the prospects of an able minister are so encouraging, as the English Lutheran Church in this city.

On the same day Chas. P. Krauth, after his return from Pittsburg, wrote to Mr. Lane as follows:

The sheet of paper on which I write is a pleasant remembrance of Pittsburg; it was given me by Mr. Davidson. The very bad cold which has almost laid me up and prevented my writing sooner, if not a remembrance of Pittsburg exactly, is a very unpleasant one of my departure from it. I took it on Tuesday night; the cars were first suffocating and then cold. I carefully impress it upon my good people, who would like to think my bad cold a sort of mild judgment, that it was not in

going *to* Pittsburg but in coming *from* it that I took the cold. The cold I could stand, however, with some philosophy, gently doctoring it with horehound and other time-honored medicaments, but "the question?" where am I to get horehound for that? The call and your kind note accompanying it have just reached me, and made things look graver than ever. I am pondering and praying and am in huge perplexity.

I thank you for the trouble you have given yourself in looking about for a house, and for all the friendly solicitude you have shown in connection with this whole matter. I feel it deeply and shall never forget it. I don't wish to lay myself open to the charge of flattery, by attempting to say how much the prospect of having your friendship and sympathy would do in drawing me to Pittsburg. Whatever may be the issue of the question now pending, you must not refuse to permit me to put your name in the list of my most cherished friends, those to whom congeniality and gratitude bind me with ties that cannot be broken.

Reached home Thursday; all well, myself excepted; barely able to preach on Sunday. People all up in arms at the bare idea of my leaving them—everybody trying to get me to say I wont go; effort unsuccessful. On Monday night a meeting (the regular monthly one) of the Council took place. Strong speeches, ardent affection; Pittsburg dirty place; coal-smoke, cholera, abolitionists, ruin everything here; might as well take church key along if I ever left here. No place more important than Winchester. Wish some people would let other people alone; wonder why they want *our* minister? *we* are satisfied, why can't they be? Council almost ready to write to your council and "give them a bit of their mind."

Such a letter was written on March 12th, by W. Miller, on behalf of the Church Council and congregation of Winchester. How difficult and perplexing the question was to Mr. Krauth, appears from the following addi-

tional extracts from his correspondence with Mr. Lane and the Church Council at Pittsburg, on this subject. To Mr. Lane he writes, March 12, 1855: "I fervently wish that it could have pleased God that the question should not have been raised; a decision either way involves much that is painful. The strong desire expressed by your congregation that I should become their pastor is met by a desire, if possible, more ardent, on the part of my beloved congregation here, that I should not leave them."

About a week afterward the following answer to the Pittsburg call was despatched from Winchester:

Dearly Beloved Brethren: The call to the pastorship of the First English Lutheran Church of Pittsburg, bearing date of the fifth of this month, has been lying before me for some days, and has received a calm, a thorough, and a prayerful consideration. Permit me to return to you my heartfelt thanks for the confidence implied in it, as well as for the flattering reasons you so kindly urge, and for the liberality of the arrangements you propose to make for my support.

Could I have been impressed with the conviction you have felt, that it is the will of God that I should assume the pastoral relation to your church, I hope I do not deceive myself in believing that it would at once have settled this question; that grace would have enabled me to break every tie, however tender, that might hold me back from duty.

The reasons urged for my acceptance of the call had great force. I do not hesitate to add that, under ordinary circumstances, that force would have been resistless. To judge of Providential indications is often a task of extreme delicacy. We can hardly avoid reading our own wishes into the manifestations of the divine will. We are in danger of going to providences rather to confirm our judgment than to determine it. It is possible, however,

to carry to such an extent our determination that personal preferences shall not weigh against divine intimations, as to make us hesitate to recognize our duty, because it happens to lie in the direction of our wishes. In our very effort to be strictly conscientious, we may exaggerate impartiality toward our desires, until it becomes partiality against them. If I know my own heart, my danger in the settlement of this question has proceeded rather from the latter cause than the former. My personal love for this congregation, my grateful sense of their kindness, all the ties of natural affection which have been forming and strengthening in the seven years of my connection with them, were regarded by me with a jealous dread lest they might exercise an undue influence, a dread which, to some extent, cast the weight of my personal reasons for remaining in Winchester into the scale of argument for going to Pittsburg.

I am sure you will do me the justice of believing that I have tried to make this question purely one of duty. Not because this place contains so many of my best and dearest friends, to whom, wherever my future sphere might be, all the kindness connected with my new associations could not prevent me from often turning with tearful eyes and an aching heart, not because it is endeared to me by the happiness of my brightest hours, and sanctified by the grief of my saddest days—not on these grounds have I rested the determination which I feel called to express.

If my mind were merely in doubt, I would feel that the people with whom I already labor would be entitled to the benefit of that doubt, but such is not my position. Calm deliberation, fervent prayer, a sober view of all the facts, force me to a decided conviction. It would be ingratitude in me to shut my eyes to the evidence that God has not left my ministry here without His witness. To the hearts of a large proportion of our membership I have the facility of approach, given by the fact that they have entered the Church during my ministry. We have

many young members, to whom a vacancy, which possibly might exist for a considerable time if I left, would prove injurious. There seems to be fruit, moreover, just maturing, which God calls me to gather. Nor is our church unimportant in the power it may exercise for good at large. It is destined to bear a decided part in the advance of the Lutheran Church in this Valley. Nor is it impossible that, even in a wider sphere, faithfulness to its work may cause its name to be mentioned among the living congregations whose power is widely felt for good.

Feeling that I have not been left without guidance from Him who gives wisdom to the humblest of His children who implore it, I rest in the assurance that my determination will prove for the best, not only for my people but for you. Yet when I dwell upon the claims you have given yourselves upon my gratitude, I can hardly bear to contemplate the disappointment which you have intimated will be caused by the decision I now make. But if it is divinely ordered, we shall both see reason for rejoicing in it. Happy and prosperous days yet to come in your life as a congregation will teach you, that no one man is essential to the Master's work or to your welfare. Your very solicitude and unanimity have weighed down my heart with the feeling how unworthy I am of the regard you express, how little I should have proved of that which you expected.

There is another matter which inspires me with some apprehensions. It is that I may perhaps have seemed to protract this question unnecessarily after you opened it the second time; that I ought to have exhibited more decision, and at once have expressed a conclusion which it might appear I could not but have foreseen. If this impression has been made upon any not familiar with all the facts, I prefer leaving my defence in your hands to taking it in my own.

It will be impossible for me henceforth to cease to feel a tender and peculiar interest in your church. My most

heartfelt prayers shall rise to God on your behalf. May the "Great Shepherd and Bishop of souls" watch over you and give you speedily a man after His own heart. Believe me, most affectionately and gratefully,

Your friend and brother in Christ,

C. P. K.

C. P. K. TO THOS. H. LANE.

Winchester, March 20, 1855.

I carried my reply to the Call in my pocket for almost a week before I could summon resolution to put it in the office. My hesitance, if I understand it correctly, was not, however, so much connected with doubt as to duty, as it was with a reluctance to disappoint the desire of those who have shown me such great, such undeserved kindness. Especially did I find it hard to think of disappointing you, in whom I have discovered so congenial a friend, the strength of whose conviction that I should have come to Pittsburg can hardly, I fear, be now harmonized with confidence in me. Yet one of two things, my dear friend, must be true—either it was not or it was my duty to come. If the former be the correct supposition, then we must both alike acquiesce in it; if the latter, then it is now evident that it is well for you that I have so decided; for this supposition implies either that I am incapable of seeing duty or unwilling to perform it. If self has not swayed me, then how can I have been misled? If self has swayed me, you have reason to thank God that He has saved you from the connection proposed. I know how deceitful the heart is, and fear, therefore, to speak of mine, but you deserve that I should exhibit to you with perfect candor the workings of my mind. I do think then that, dispassionately and as before God, have I weighed this question. I have tried to suppress every voice of human passion, and to look only at the will and glory of the great Master. That there were strong ties here is certain, but there were not wanting certain respects in which Pittsburg had its peculiar attractions.

The very novelty of a scene of labor has its pleasurable excitements; the same preaching has new power on new hearers; a new set of characters comes up for study; the mind and heart are both freshened. There are, too, in Pittsburg, public and literary advantages which I prize highly, and which we have not here. There is more friction of mind in a large city, and the impression for good which a man may make is more widely felt. Your offer of support I considered exceedingly liberal, and all that I saw of your people made me feel that I could be happy in laboring among them. I recognize the sacred obligation resting on every follower of Christ, and especially on the minister, to use every gift entrusted to him so as to do not merely good, but the most good; and, in a question of capacity for certain spheres, I acknowledge the right of friends to have their judgment laid in the balance against our self-distrust. Why, then, you may ask in a case which seems so plain to you, have I decided against going to Pittsburg?

In reply to this I must remark, first of all, that there is much which passes in a mind in conflict which it is impossible to convey to others; reasons which we cannot, in fact, clearly *express* to ourselves. Our very strongest arguments may be precisely the ones we do not know how to urge—they are so delicate, so complex, like a strand of fibres, each of which is like gossamer, but which in combination form a cable. Some of the more palpable reasons I have briefly stated in my letter to the Committee of Correspondence. I have indicated them merely, and have not, by pleading, attempted to heighten their force. The truth is that there are respects in which this would be a peculiarly unfortunate time for me to leave Winchester. I would feel as if I were deserting my own children in their helplessness, leaving a clear, well-defined duty for a field promising, indeed, but not so obviously, not so surely designated for my culture as the other. I know that my fealty is due to the whole Church; nevertheless, a congregation has its claims. We are subjects

of the General Government, yet we believe in "States' rights;" we acknowledge our ties to the human brotherhood, yet we have our family attachments and duties. The simple nonformation of desired relations never can have attached to it the pain that is consequent on breaking up relations existing, strengthened by time, dear by the memory of common joys, hallowed by sorrows, and attended by divine blessings.

God has not meant that our union in the hallowed relation of pastor and people should take place at this time. You may ask: "Why, then, has He permitted us to cherish so deep a wish, and to fix with such unanimity upon a particular person. Why has He almost permitted you to decide that you ought to come (for to this, I confess, my mind at one period had almost been brought) if He meant that no pastoral connection should take place?" I do not know. *Perhaps* He wished you to feel more deeply that in Him, and not in man, is your strength. He saw, *perhaps*, that you were unconsciously disposed to build too much upon supposed gifts or attractions in the preacher, which you might be in danger of imagining would form the real power in the ministrations of the sanctuary, and He disappoints you now to save you from bitterer disappointment, and as a preparation for doing for you abundantly above all that you are able to ask or to think.

As for myself, I hope this will be the result; that I shall feel more deeply the necessity of employing the access which my beloved people show that I have to their hearts for their good and to the glory of God. Oh, how humbled I feel by their love, that I have done so little to deserve it, and that a people who might, yes, who ought to have been glad at the prospect of my leaving them, should so affectionately cling to me.

I have thoroughly pondered the twentieth and twenty-first chapters of Acts,* and last Sunday morning preached on a part of the latter (vv. 8-14); but these

* To these, Mr. Lane had invited his special attention in a letter.

chapters could only teach what is to be done when duty speaks, and could not help me to decide what duty was. I came to the conclusion that I am already in my Jerusalem, the place of my duties. A man may be "bound in the Spirit" to stay as well as to go. You wish me to be like Luther. Would that I were! but Luther was just as famous for maintaining a position, and taking a stand, as for going. His most famous saying indicative of firmness was: "*Hier stehe ich,*" which may be freely Anglicized: "*Here I stay,*" which furnishes a motto to my very hand.

Please write to me very soon and let me know that I am not to add to the features of this matter, which have already given me so much pain, the additional one of thinking that you will cease to feel an interest in one who will ever remain gratefully and affectionately your friend and brother, C. P. K.

But even after this apparently final decision the friends in Pittsburg would not give up their hope of gaining Chas. P. Krauth for their pastor. They had become so captivated with him in the brief intercourse of his first visit, that they seemed unable to make up their minds to the necessity of abandoning their hope, even after his declination of their call had been given to them. After their marriage, Mr. and Mrs. Krauth made their bridal trip to Pittsburg, and in consequence of this visit a committee of the Pittsburg congregation addressed his father, asking his intercession in behalf of their people. The congregation was losing from week to week by the long suspense, the Sunday-school was dwindling away, the church had even to be closed from lack of a supply. Mr. Lane addressed another urgent letter to him, showing their distressed condition. Another formal call was sent to him, which resulted in his final acceptance. The

following extracts from his correspondence with Mr. Lane show the development of this perplexing question:

C. P. K. TO THOS. H. LANE.

August 23, 1855.

I have been hoping that you would choose a pastor, and that thus my mind would be relieved of a question which has come to be very distressing. I wish to speak to you with perfect openness, and I will confess that my mind never has been at permanent peace on the question, and the picture you draw in your letter makes me feel positively miserable. I never in my life, after expressing a decision, have felt so shaken, and yet no decision was ever made more conscientiously.

August 28, 1855.

I have hitherto given myself some little credit for firmness, but, like all pleasant illusions I have ever had about myself, I must consider that as dissipated now; but you cannot realize fully the difficulties with which the matter has been invested. I trust that my mind has been more illumined, and my heart brought to a more simple, child-like acquiescence in the will of God. I have tried to trace out and dispel all the sophistries which inclination attempts to palm on conscience as arguments. If now there is no change whatever in the views of your people, if they cannot unite upon some other name, I think that God has made it clear to me that it will be my duty to accept a renewed and unanimous call. But if there is any change, if you can unite upon anyone else, I beg of you to do so. I dread to think of breaking up my connections here; there are ties whose sundering will be followed by a bleeding heart and tearful eyes. Nevertheless, if I do come, I shall come not in the spirit of one who reluctantly makes a sacrifice; I shall come to consecrate all my energies to your good, and to love and serve you with my whole heart.

Your people ought to know that my habits are those of a student; that, though I shall, in the fear of God, if I come, try to do all the duties that can reasonably be required of a pastor, I shall not be able to satisfy unreasonable demands. If I am to be tested by Brother Passavant's standard of outdoor and missionary activity, I shall be found wanting. Few men will bear comparison with him, and of those few I am not one.

September 3, 1855.

Your letter of Saturday arrived this afternoon, and with it the renewed call; and they, to quote your own words, "have removed a mountain-load of care and anxiety from my heart." So intense has grown my conviction of duty in the case, that I should almost have regarded any event that would have thwarted the renewal of the call as a punishment from God, an intimation on His part that I had not been faithful to the light I might have had. I hope my dear brethren will forgive all the anxiety I may have caused them. I can see reasons why it was best that I did not accept at the time of the first call. My mind was then so much on a balance that I am persuaded that a decision to go would not have brought perfect peace with it, as the decision to stay certainly did not. Now the path of duty seems to be illumined with a ray from heaven, and I feel that I can come with all my heart.

In the letters I may receive from you, I hope you will enter into minute details in regard to everything connected with the Church. We must all go to work in the love of the Master, and in His strength, to make up for lost time. I know you think all of us at the South to be a set of old fogies, so if I seem to be running too fast, you may set it over to the account of my desire to liberate myself from so odious an imputation. The Lord watch over His people, and over you. If this is of Him, you, beyond anyone on earth, have been His instrument. For the light I now have on it, next to Him I thank you.

September 6, 1855.

As regards the picture you draw of the social position of our Church in Pittsburg, it precisely corresponds with the impression I had formed. God save me from a "fashionable" congregation. Real intelligence and real refinement I love; but I have found that my views of duty leave me very little time for mere social enjoyment. I consider all time lost that does not bear in some way upon the great ends of my profession. It has been my happiness here to have the hearts of my people, irrespective of their social position. One great difficulty here is the great disparity between parts of our church. We have, indeed, almost no poverty, in the proper sense, in the congregation, but a large part of the wealth of the place is in the keeping of our leading families, and their refinement and position in society create a marked difference, and render a constant circumspection necessary, lest the jealousy of classes should be aroused. The general society of Winchester is very fine, and I shall bear from this place an affectionate remembrance of kindness and courtesy from every part of our community. But my habits, as a student and pastor, make it impossible for me to devote much space to society. I am satisfied of one thing, that the changes which will affect me most unpleasantly will do me most good. I have sometimes felt here as if I were slowly fossilizing. It requires no small effort, in a quiet place like this, to keep up enough motion to prevent ossification at the joints.

You were so kind formerly as to send me a Pittsburg paper occasionally. I should like you still to send me one now and then. I wish you would send me the paper in which most of our members or attendants advertise, with their advertisement marked.

I have just written my letter of acceptance to your Council. Our paper of to-day announces my resignation. I have a new trial whenever I meet one of my members; but I am gratified to find that they almost universally do justice to the conscientious convictions that have led me to take the step.

His letter of acceptance to the Council of the First Evangelical Lutheran Church, Pittsburg, Pa., is dated September 6, 1855, and reads as follows:

Beloved Brethren: Your letter of September 1st, in which you renew the call to me to become the pastor of the church you represent, was duly received. It has pleased God to open to me new aspects of duty. From the position of great doubt which terminated in declining your first call, I have been led to one of great assurance that it is the will of the Great Head of the Church that I should accept the invitation you have once more given me, to become the pastor of your church. With my whole heart I now feel prepared to cast in my lot with yours. Yet not without fear and trembling do I accept this new position. I shall look to you for a generous construction of my actions, for a kindly disposition to bear with my infirmities, and for a hearty co-operation by your prayers and labors.

I pray God that the anticipations which have led you to select me as your pastor may not wholly be disappointed, and I think I know you well enough to justify the assurance I feel, that I shall be happy in the relations I henceforth expect to sustain to you. Without an humble trust that God would vindicate our connection as one brought about by Himself, I would not dare to enter on it.

Anxious as I naturally feel to enter on my new field of labor, I cannot make my arrangements for being with you before the middle of October. I wish my acceptance to be regarded as taking effect the first day of that month, as from that time I shall be regulated wholly in my movements by my relation as your pastor.

Believe me, dear brethren, ever your friend and brother in Christ, C. P. KRAUTH.

On reception of the news, his father writes, September 6, 1855: "I was entirely unprepared for the intelligence.

Your decision, for which, I suppose, you have adequate reasons, has made me feel rather gloomy. Your present charge will feel your departure so much, and part with you so reluctantly, that I cannot but feel for them much sympathy."

The letter of resignation is dated September 10, 1855. He says in it: "With regrets, too deep for utterance, I take a step which severs ties so hallowed and dear. The happiest years of my life have been spent with you. I go, led, as I believe, by Providence, to enter on a wider field of usefulness, but nowhere do I hope to find truer sympathies or more cordial co-operation than you have given me. Not one act you have done, not one word you have spoken, during all my connection with you, would I wish to forget. For all that you have done, for all that you have been to me, accept my heartfelt thanks, and the assurance that you and my dear people hold a place in my affections and my grateful remembrance of which no changes in life can deprive them and you."

The month of October passed quickly in the necessary preparations for the removal to Pittsburg. The library at this time filled already thirty-two boxes and was valued by him at four thousand dollars. On November 7, the journey to Pittsburg was begun. It was a very sad parting from the friends in Winchester. "It is a parting in tears wherever I go. They cling to the hope that at no distant day I will respond to their call to return. I know I shall often have the heartache and wish I were back. My happiest years have been here. My labors have been blest. All say that our church has had an unexampled prosperity in the last seven years and a half. What cause of gratitude I have that I leave it followed by the tears and prayers of my people. Ought I to leave it? I believe the Master has so willed it, and His will be

done." (Letter to Dr. Chas. Phil. Krauth, November 5, 1855.)

At the time of Chas. P. Krauth's pastorate in Pittsburg, the pulpits of the leading denominations were very ably filled. Dr. Paxton, afterward in Princeton, was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Dr. Howard of the Second, and Dr. Riddle of the Third; Rev. Alfred Cookman became pastor of Christ's Methodist Church; Dr. Lyman, afterward Bishop of North Carolina, was rector of Trinity Episcopal Church—all men of influence and ability. In the Presbyterian Seminary, Dr. Jacobus, Dr. Plummer, and Professor Wilson were strong in the pulpit, and preached frequently in the different churches of the city. Mr. Krauth identified himself heartily with his people, and, though they were weak, compared with their surroundings, in all respects, and unable to give any important assistance to his general reputation, he easily took position as one of the ablest of his profession. His Pittsburg friends are convinced that he was at his very best as a preacher and speaker during his residence there, and that he showed greater versatility in style of composition, and also in the delivery of his sermons, than at any other period of his ministry. (His *Alma Mater* probably shared this opinion, as the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred on him by Pennsylvania College in 1856.)

The social position of the Pittsburg congregation, especially as compared with the society in Winchester, is well described by Mr. Thomas Lane in a letter of September 2, 1855: "I have sometimes feared the social position of our people would contrast unfavorably with that of your present charge. I would not have you infer that we are at all deficient in real respectability, founded upon moral worth. But the idea I wish to convey is, we *are* not, as we *desire* not to be esteemed, fashionable.

The congregation is composed principally of active business men and mechanics. Many of our congregation are among the leading business men of the city. Many are mechanics, and all are plain and unassuming. It is composed of such men as *I* would prefer associating with. Our influence upon the community in proportion to our age and numerical strength is second to none in the city. But, as I stated above, I sometimes fear the contrast would be unfavorable to you and Mrs. K., accustomed, as you have been, to residence in an old-established community, whose population is more stationary, and where the absence of manufacturing interests does not induce so large an influx of foreigners and strangers. The characteristics of our citizens are, they are industrious and enterprising; indeed, excessively devoted to material interests. They are cordial and friendly, easily accessible and very warm-hearted."

Charles P. Krauth himself was, on the whole, well pleased with his change and full of hope, as appears from the following lines addressed to his father on January 1, 1856: "I have not, on the whole, been disappointed in Pittsburg. Anxious as were my friends here to have me come, they were always candid. My impressions have so far corresponded with their representations. We have one of the most mixed congregations that I have ever known, mixed as to material, origin, and original religious predilections. This imparts interest to the field, though it increases its difficulties, and makes it harder to fuse into a homogeneous mass, the material I have to work upon. I have some of the right sort of co-workers. We have received many tokens of kindness on the part of our people.

"I have not for a moment wavered in the conviction of duty which induced me to come here. I feel sometimes a

little softness of heart, and a moisture gathers in my eyes, when I think of Winchester, but, acting from love to Christ and the Church, I do not for a moment regret the change. With all the pains of memory I mingle the pleasures of hope." Speaking of the trials of "Pennsylvania housekeeping," he says: "I would rather encounter all the annoyances of Pennsylvania, than rear my children under the deadly shadow of slavery."

It might seem like a very strange providence that, after all the efforts on the part of the Pittsburg congregation, and after the painful and conscientious conflict it cost him personally to become their pastor, their union was to be only for a very short time, and that the difficulties and perplexities attending his decision in favor of a Philadelphia congregation were hardly less trying than those connected with his removal from Winchester to Pittsburg.

The Rev. Dr. Philip Mayer, for many years the pastor of St. John's English Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, had, on his death-bed, repeatedly spoken of Charles P. Krauth as the proper person to succeed him, and loved to recur to this subject frequently, though his own theological stand-point was very different from Dr. Krauth's. He was approached by the trustees of St. John's Church, but, in a letter dated Pittsburg, May 5, 1858, he positively and firmly declined "to take part in supplying temporarily the lamented vacancy occasioned by the death of their venerable pastor." When his friends in Pittsburg heard of the proposition coming from Philadelphia, a polite and fraternal address was sent to him, signed by thirty-two of the most prominent members of the congregation: "You came into our midst," they say, "at a critical moment in our history. Many causes (more painfully manifest to yourself than to any other) com-

bined to unsettle and embarrass our situation. Foreboding clouds gathered around us, and anxious fears mingled with our anticipations of the future. Your constant and unfaltering devotion to our interest has been smiled upon by Him who alone can give success, and we are now permitted to rejoice together in the widest tokens of the dawn of prosperity. We hope they are the precursors of a day whose sun shall no more go down. It is with no design to utter flattering words that we now address you, but to impress you with the truth that your position toward our church is one of critical interest, and, however plausible may appear the representations of usefulness elsewhere, they should be great, indeed, if their magnitude outweighs the perils to which your withdrawal would subject us.

"Hoping that the same kind Providence which has signalized our past relation will guide you to the decision so dear to our hearts, and which, we hope, is not inconsistent with your happiness—a decision which, we feel assured, under God's blessing, shall be the guarantee of our enlarged prosperity as a church, we commit the matter with these feeble suggestions to your consideration, with the assurance we shall remain, as ever, your devoted friends."

But hardly had another year elapsed, when Philadelphia loomed up a second time. The call now came from St. Mark's Evangelical Lutheran Church, in Spring Garden Street, above Thirteenth. Already, in December, 1858, his father had expressed the idea that he would be sounded upon the subject of succeeding Dr. Stork in Philadelphia, and presumed "the sounding would not produce the vibration justifying an operation." Dr. Krauth himself, for the first time, refers to this matter in a letter to his father (Pittsburg, July 13, 1859), in

which he speaks of having received "a very kind letter from Mr. James Monroe," a prominent member of the vestry of St. Mark's, from which he quotes: "The minds of our congregation are again turned to you, and we have been encouraged to hope that circumstances may have occurred since you were addressed officially by our board, that may incline you more favorably toward us." The letter continues:

He then speaks of the constitutional requirement, that those only who have preached for them, are eligible as candidates. Knowing my objection to the trial-sermon system, he proposes that I should take Philadelphia *en route* in my summer travels, and preach for them incidentally. I need hardly tell you that I could not acquiesce in this latter suggestion; if preaching incidentally answered the constitutional demands, I have conformed to them long ago, for I repeatedly preached to Dr. Stork's people. Besides, though I had expected to be in Philadelphia during the summer, and might, in my innocence, have preached in St. Mark's, yet now, as the boys say, very expressively, the whole thing would be "accidentally on purpose." I think it not at all improbable that, were St. Mark's to exhibit a unanimity in choosing me as a pastor, to which they could not be drawn by the use of another name, I might feel it my duty to go. But, as there is a constitutional barrier in the way even of my nomination, I shall labor on joyously in my present field, which becomes more pleasant, and yields good fruit more abundantly, every day. The Father of All Mercies has not opened my heart in any degree to the feeling that I should *seek* a change; if it is His will that a change should occur, He will make the opening, and determine the when and the how.

On the previous day (July 12,) he had already written to Mr. Monroe, giving him his views on the "Trial-Ser-

mon System." As this letter touches on a subject of great practical importance to the Church, it is here given in full:

C. P. K. TO MR. JAMES MONROE, PHILADELPHIA.

Pittsburg, July 12, 1859.

It is very natural for a congregation to desire to meet and hear a man before they are committed to the reception of him as their spiritual guide, and it is equally natural, and, in my judgment, still more imperatively necessary that a minister should visit a congregation which has called him, should see them face to face, and ascertain, as a man of good sense and of refined feeling very easily can, whether the impression which led to his call has been confirmed by personal intercourse; and only after such a visit and such a confirmation do I think a minister can, with propriety, give his acceptance. But the " trial-sermon " system is encumbered with such serious difficulties, and falls so far short of its object, that I have never been able to reconcile it with my conscience, or with my sense of what is due to the sacredness of the pastoral office, and the importance of the object which this system aims at, but does not attain. Trial sermons are no real tests, even of a man's ability as a preacher. It is not pretended that they are a test of other, and very vital, parts of a minister's capacity for usefulness. An ambitious and selfish man, who desired a place, would do all in his power to create favorable impressions as to his gifts in the pulpit, and if, on the test of the trial sermon, he were received, the people would soon discover that they had been deceived. On the other hand, a modest man would preach in a way which he was sure he could always sustain, and thus far below that highest standard which, in some cases, he might reach, and, contrasted with the former, whose superior he might really be, would appear to great disadvantage. But I need say nothing on this point, as I am sure, from your letter, that our opinions on it perfectly coincide.

I have been thinking of visiting Cape May during the summer, and, on my going and returning, I expected to spend a few days in Philadelphia. But you will pardon my frankness when I say, that I would have more difficulty in preaching for you when thus thrown accidentally into the way of doing so, than I would have in coming for that sole purpose. You can appreciate my feeling in this matter, I know, and therefore I need not argue the matter. But if I could thus come, I do not see how it would relieve the difficulty. If your constitution requires a trial sermon, I would not have complied with its requisition; if it does not, and simply demands that the minister nominated shall have preached in the church, that I have done before.

There is another difficulty. I see no indication that it is the will of God that I should for myself *seek* a change; if a change comes, it must be clearly from His hand. In taking any positive steps in this matter, I would feel as if I were taking it out of His hands into my own. You say that, in any case, my name will be presented. If the use of it will tend to divide the congregation, to prevent a hearty and unanimous choice of some other person, I must beg my kind friends not to use it; and, lest I should be misunderstood, I would say that, in such a case, any use of it will not only be without my consent, but utterly against my wish. If it should appear that the use of my name will tend to unite the congregation, and if, in their judgment, the constitutional barrier is not in the way, I will feel it my duty to lay the whole question before God and commit myself entirely to His holy will.

I presume that, with these embarrassing circumstances investing the case, my name is not likely to come up at all. Should this be the case, I shall be saved a painful conflict, without, I hope, having laid myself open to the imputation of having evaded my responsibility before God or men. In any event, I shall cherish a grateful remembrance of the friends in St. Mark's, who have been willing to give me the highest token of confidence and

regard which it was possible for them, as a portion of the people of God, to bestow upon me, in manifesting a desire that I should assume the hallowed relation of a pastor. May the Great Shepherd watch over His flock in this their hour of trial, give them wisdom, and send them a man after His own heart.

This letter did not prevent the people of St. Mark's from sending a regular call to Dr. Krauth, based on his unanimous election, July 26, 1859.

Dr. Krauth at once informed the Council of his congregation (August 1, 1859) that he had received a call from Philadelphia. In their anxiety to retain the services of their beloved and revered pastor, the Church Council (August 18, 1859) passed the following resolutions:

Whereas, we have learned that our pastor, Brother Krauth, has contemplated a change of residence, and that the chief reason assigned is his domestic affairs, the ill-health of his wife, who will be under medical treatment at a distance from here, which must necessarily draw him from his charge much of the winter: Therefore, be it unanimously *Resolved*, that we tender Brother Krauth our sincere sympathy, and, further, that we grant him the liberty to take as much time as he may see fit in visiting and remaining with his family during the coming year.

Resolved, That, should Brother Krauth decide to remain with us, we will endeavor to secure the services of a young minister to labor for us in his absence, and when Brother Krauth returns he shall be allowed to serve the congregation in Birmingham.

But even this generous offer could not prevail on him to stay in Pittsburg. The hope of more comfort in the afflicted condition of Mrs. Krauth was the chief cause for

his decision in favor of Philadelphia, however mysterious it might seem that he should be removed from a field in which he had accomplished so much, and where there seemed so much for him to do. How painful the struggle was for him personally appears from the following lines, addressed to his father (August 23, 1859): "You will judge how hard and close the conflict in my mind has been, when, after the letter I mailed this afternoon, I write that letters since received from Philadelphia have led me to a final decision, and that I have determined to go, and will write to that effect this week. My Council hold out inducements to me to stay of the most generous kind—so noble and self-sacrificing that it would be ungenerous in me to accept them. The will of the Lord be done. Pray for me. I have been very near to strong crying and tears in the final struggle of this afternoon, but my mind is calm now."

In his struggle to come to a well-grounded decision of this important question, he had written all his arguments for and against Philadelphia, side by side, on a slip of paper. There we find, under the heading "FOR," the following points: 1. Wife's health: (a) benefit of change; (b) medical advice; (c) easiness of labor; (d) easiness of access to friends; relief of my own mind; (e) superior facilities for boarding. 2. Lutheranism in the East; Pennsylvania Synod and Seminary; Publication Society. 3. Philadelphia; German churches anglicizing; colonies. 4. St. Mark's; united on me. 5. Personal; pleasant city; libraries; book-stores; Academy of Natural Sciences; dear friends and connections.

On August 28th, Dr. Stork announced to the congregation his acceptance, and expressed the hope and assurance "that he would be received with open arms and hearts, and with that full Christian sympathy and co-op-

eration which is so inspiring to the pastor's heart and acceptable in the sight of God." (Letter of Dr. Stork, August 29, 1859.) His resignation was offered on September 12, and reluctantly accepted by the Council of the First English Lutheran Church in Pittsburg. It reads as follows:

Dearly Beloved Brethren: Into your hands I resign the commission which four years ago was given me, through you, by the congregation you represent—a commission to minister to them at the altar of our common God in the Gospel of His Son.

It is with regrets too deep to find a natural expression in words I now dissolve those holy ties, under the guidance, as I humbly trust, of Him in whose providence they were then formed. For all that you have done, for all that you have been to me, accept my poor thanks. No cloud has dimmed our intercourse. You have shown yourselves only too good—too forbearing. May the Father of All Mercies bless you and the dear people over whose interests you watch. These lines mark, indeed, my sundering from them, but, in that love which I shall cherish for them till the heart to whose chief treasure it belongs beats no more, in the grateful remembrance of their kindness, in the memory of all that is tender and hallowing in the relation in which we have stood, in the privilege of praying for them, and of begging that I may not be forgotten in their supplications, and in the prospect of that meeting which is to follow the partings of this life—I shall feel that they have not ceased, and can never wholly cease, to be mine. Believe me, dear brethren in Christ Jesus, ever yours,

CHARLES P. KRAUTH.

A very short time elapsed between the handing in of his resignation and his removal to Philadelphia. The *Missionary* of September 29, 1859, already contains the

account of his farewell sermon to his Pittsburg congregation: "On Sunday last, the Rev. Dr. C. P. Krauth preached for the last time to his congregation in the English Lutheran Church on Seventh Street. The building was thronged both morning and evening, and the occasion was one of peculiar sadness, both to pastor and people. He leaves, this week, for his new home in Philadelphia, followed by the prayers and sympathies of his church and the community. We dare not trust ourselves to speak of our loss, but devoutly pray that his removal may result in greater gain for the Church of the Redeemer."

LITERARY WORK DURING THE YEARS 1854 TO 1859.

In addition to the articles mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the period of which we now treat contains a number of publications from Mr. Krauth's pen, to which reference, however brief, must be made.

In the January number of the *Evangelical Review*, 1854, he published a Reformation sermon by F. V. Reinhard, of 1812, "The Unity of the Lutheran Church: The Holy Bonds which Make the Evangelical Lutheran Church One Body." While the translator, in an introductory note, speaks very highly of this sermon, and thinks it might form "a noble tract for the times, tending to the purity and peace of our beloved Church," he does not forget to warn his readers that they should bear in mind "the peculiar condition of the religious world in Germany, in reading the sermon." And surely the state of religion in Germany at the time of the delivery of this sermon was not of such a character that a full, definite, and comprehensive statement of the confession of the fathers might be expected in the pulpit. Its chief attrac-

tion for Mr. Krauth seems to have been its mild, irenic spirit: "Like zeal for freedom of conscience; a common subjection to the decisive authority of Scripture; harmonious faith in the leading truths of the Gospel; mutual forbearance in all the rest, and an earnest striving for every species of perfection." These are the marks, laid down by Reinhard, by which "all genuine members of our Church recognize each other as men belonging together."

Two *Thanksgiving Discourses*, preached during his Pittsburg pastorate, and published at the request of his hearers, are especially worthy of our attention, because they represent two different sides in his personal character, and his method in the discharge of his sacred duty as a minister of the Word. The one, preached November 20, 1856, is based on Eccles. vii. 10: "Say not thou, What is the cause that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this." Here he gives full sway to his idealistic optimism, looking at the bright side of things, and drawing his picture in the rosiest colors.

The other discourse, "The Altar on the Threshing-floor," preached November 26, 1857, and based on 2 Samuel xxiv. 25, presents a very different picture. Here the preacher, like a veritable John the Baptist, lifts up his voice in the wilderness, calling his people to repentance, and holding up before their eyes a most realistic picture of their national sins and corruptions, and of the terrible judgments of God which may be expected as a scourge for their transgressions. It is a truly prophetical discourse, pervaded by a spirit of divination of the chastisements of the Lord which only four years afterward were to break over this country in the horrors of the Civil War.

Dr. Chr. F. Walther acknowledged the gift of that sermon in a graceful Latin epistle, which reads as follows: "Donum mihi gratissimum accepi, sermonem Tuum: 'The Altar on the Threshing-floor,' in ecclesia Tua die gratiarum habitum; et gratias quam maximas Tibi ago. Donatio enim honorificum non solum benevolentiæ Tuæ erga me documentum est, sed opus ipsum tum idearum copia tum elocutionis vigore et splendore magnam vim in meam animam exercuit. Verba verissima eademque gravissima recto tempore pronunciata hic audita et nunc legenda sunt. Arma firmissima contra errores et vitia nostri ævi, nostræ nationis gessisti fortissime; imprimis contra egoismum, illum dæmonem, qui regnum divinum devastare maxime conatus est, et haud exiguam partem agri divini et seminis puri adeo devastavit. Ubi τὸ Ego, studium sui ipsius, ardor propri lucri, propriæ voluptatis causa, prævalet, quasi sceptrum tenet et omnia negotia gubernat; ibi fugit caritas, sensusque christianus et Salvator noster ipse flere coactus est; imo deest omnis justitia, virtus, δικαιοσύνη, quæ placet Deo. Sed morbos non solum conspicuos nobis fecisti sed remedia quoque contra eos—et quidem rem acu—detegisti. Attamen solamen lugentibus! Dominus pater noster in cœlis qui est per Jesum Christum nostra firma arx, recto tempore mittit fideles, peritos ac strenue certantes ministros in vineam suam! Ignoscas, quæso, mihi Latina lingua utenti et veniam des mori Germanorum eruditorum hominum. Vale faveque.

"Pittsburgiæ, Jan. 11, A.D. 1858."

The *Missionary*, published by Rev. W. A. Passavant, in Pittsburg, between the years 1856 and 1860, contained a number of valuable contributions from Dr. Krauth's pen. Many of them were afterward reprinted in the *Lutheran*, or published in pamphlet form. Among the most important subjects treated in these articles we mention the following: "Scripture Doctrine of Justifica-

tion" (May 1, 1856), afterward used in the "Theses on Justification for the General Council" (see Minutes of the Rochester Convention, 1871, p. 58, Thes. xi.-xxiii); "The Sabbath and the Lord's Day" (May 15, June 19, July 10, July 17, August 28, September 4, 1856); "The Lutheran Church and the Divine Obligation of the Lord's Day" (Gettysburg, 1856, *Evangelical Review*, VIII., 354 ff.); "On the Mass" (from September 18, 1856, to January 22, 1857); "The Evangelical Mass and the Romish Mass: A Contribution to the Defense of the Augsburg Confession and the History of the Reformation" (Gettysburg, 1860); "The General Synod and Its Doctrinal Basis" (April 30 to May 14, 1857), reprinted, with criticisms and explanations, in the *Lutheran* and *Missionary*, 1864 (March 17 to April 21), showing the different position then taken by the author; "Christ's Person and Sacramental Presence" (September 30 to October 14, 1858); "Human Disquietude" (Sermon on September 27, 1857).

In 1858 he published "Three Essays for the Season," under the title "Poverty." In their original form, they were presented as an address at the anniversary of the Allegheny Ladies' Society for the Relief of the Poor. They had subsequently been used in the pulpit, and had appeared in the *Missionary* (November 25 to December 16). It was at the request of Mr. W. S. Haven that they were given for publication. The three essays treat, first, of the "Perpetuity of Poverty"; secondly, of the "Causes of Poverty"; and thirdly, of the "Relief of Poverty." While he admits the necessity of public agencies for the relief of the poor, he raises a warning voice against the illusion that the real solution of the problem could ever be satisfactorily reached in this manner. "The relief which a system of taxation affords neither

excites the sense of benevolence, on the one side, nor of gratitude on the other. Were it the sole system, the poor would be as the flint, with the rich as the steel; and the sparks of hatred and the kindling of malignity would be the perpetual result of their collision." He insists on private, personal charity. "The individual consideration of the poor is as much needed by us as it is needed for the poor. The Bible declarations are almost always addressed to the individual, and are designed to hold the rich man and the poor man together, heart to heart." Possibly the close association with his predecessor in the pastorate of the Pittsburg congregation, the Rev. W. A. Passavant, the genial originator of so many blessed institutions of charity, may have had something to do with the selection of this subject. The manner of its treatment proves that Mr. Krauth had given much attention and study to it, and that he did not close his eyes to the great practical work of the Church, even though her deeper theological and metaphysical problems were the chief attraction to him.

As his articles on the Lord's Day and on the Mass had been very valuable contributions to the defense of the Augsburg Confession, which had, in those days, been severely attacked and reconstructed by the Professor of Didactic Theology in the Gettysburg Seminary, another little pamphlet, reprinted from the *Evangelical Review* (July, 1858), under the title "Select Analytical Bibliography of the Augsburg Confession" (Gettysburg, 1858), furnished a list of the most important works on the Augsburg Confession, which, with a few exceptions, were in Mr. Krauth's library. Being convinced that an acquaintance on the part of our Church with her fundamental creed is essential to her life, her purity, and her peace, and also that there was a growing desire

in our Church, in this country, thoroughly to understand her princely Confession, he endeavored to meet this wish in some measure.

The principal work, however, in those years, was the translation of "Tholuck's Commentary on the Gospel of St. John," published by Smith, English & Co., Philadelphia, 1859, after the introduction and the first chapter had appeared in the *Evangelical Review*, the former in January, 1856, the latter in January, 1858. To the end of his life, he always looked with peculiar pleasure and gratification upon this work, and spoke very warmly of the impulses and benefits received through it, though his father once expressed the opinion that "Charles had better prepare original commentaries than waste his time on translations."

The first edition of Tholuck's original had appeared in the year 1827 (VIII. and 361 pp.), the last, or seventh edition, in 1857 (IV. and 454 pp.), in which the writer noticed the latest theories of the modern Tübingen school concerning the origin of the Gospel of John. From the very beginning, Tholuck's work had been characterized by an apologetical interest, in opposition to Bretschneider's attack on the Gospel of John in his "Probabilia de Evangelii Johannis Indole et Origine, Lips. 1820." The book was dedicated to Neander, to whose lectures on John, Tholuck felt himself particularly indebted. The earlier exegetical literature, particularly of the patristic period and of the Reformation era, was abundantly used in the preparation of this commentary. But Tholuck himself admitted that, at the time when he first undertook his work, he had not yet acquired a sufficient acquaintance with the whole of Scripture, and that he introduced too much outside material into his interpretation, instead of explaining Scripture by Scripture.

The fourth edition of 1833 had found a translator in Rev. A. Kaufmann, minister of the Episcopal Church in Andover (Boston: Perkins & Marvin, 1836). This translation having been out of print for a number of years, Mr. Krauth was induced to translate the sixth edition of 1844 at the request of the publishing house of Smith, English & Co., Philadelphia. He commenced the work in the year 1854, and was ready to go to print in the following year, but various causes delayed publication until 1859. Thus the translator was enabled to incorporate in his volume all the essential additions of Tholuck's seventh and last edition of 1857.

The celebrated German professor was well pleased with the work of his American translator, and wrote to him from Halle (March 27, 1860) to acknowledge the receipt of several copies sent by the publishers. One of these copies was presented by Professor Tholuck to Mr. Stückenberg, of Ohio, at that time a student in the University of Halle. "Since Mr. Kaufmann," says Tholuck, in his letter, "translated my commentary on John, the succeeding editions, particularly the seventh, have totally changed the character of the book. You can appreciate how unpleasant it must be for an author to go about in a foreign nation, and even on another continent, in an old garb, which has long been laid off, whilst for years he has put on another. I therefore owe you a debt of gratitude, that you have thought it worth while to introduce me to the American and British public in my latest attire. As far as I am able to judge at present, your translation corresponds very closely to the German original. I hope you may have the gratification of seeing your work widely appreciated and readily accepted in America and Great Britain. May it become a means of encouraging and inspiring younger theologians to de-

vote themselves earnestly to the study of the Holy Scriptures."

In a very favorable notice of the work, the *Missionary* (June 9, 1859) expressed the hope "that, should Dr. Krauth again engage in this species of composition, it will be to bring out a standard theological work of a more decided Lutheran character. Such a work is constantly called for, both by our own ministry and that of other churches. Heretofore, most of the translations from the German have been from the so-called 'United Evangelical' school; but, notwithstanding their acknowledged value, they are not what the peculiar circumstances of our Church demand."

A very severe loss befell Dr. Krauth during his pastorate in Pittsburg, in the death of his only sister, Julia, wife of the Rev. O. A. Kinsolving, of Middleburg, Va. She resembled him very much in the principal features of her personal character and abilities, a noble woman, of strong mind, bright intellect, full of wit and humor, sometimes inclining to be sarcastic, ready with her pen, and a voracious reader of the voluminous books with which her brother supplied her, constantly "craving for more mental food." She had been a most faithful correspondent to her beloved brother ever since his college-days, though, as a rule, she had to write three letters for one in return. All through her life she clung to him with a very deep and tender affection. When her health began to waver, and she realized that she must give up the hope of seeing him again in this life, she wrote (September, 1857): "I feel as if something had been taken away from my life now that I have lost the hope of seeing you." A month later she said, in another letter to her brother: "I have been realizing lately what a blessing it

will be to lay aside this poor, painful, worn-out body. I think I can say I have felt the purifying effects of suffering. The fire burns fiercely, and the spirit shrinks from the sorrow it must bear from its union with the flesh. You will think me very silly, but I am most afraid of dying on account of the furies and demons which then fight hardest for the departing soul. Perhaps one's spiritual eyes are opened, and they see the angels also, but I feel afraid of the devils getting around me and alarming me. 'Helpless to Thy cross I cling.' . . . Are you groaning and quaking in your smoky city about money matters, as we are here? I feel rich and poor together, for I have something to lose, and I don't know but it is lost already. 'Treasures in heaven?'—oh, yes; there we carry our faith and love, all that brightens and ennobles life here, and is everlasting there; no failing banks can take from me my pearl of great price, my true riches, and I feel quite easy and trust in God, though I do read the papers and note the price of stocks and suspension of banks."

Mrs. Kinsolving died very peacefully on March 1, 1858. Her father, Dr. Charles Philip Krauth, arrived in Middleburg about ten hours after she had breathed her last. His presence was a great comfort to the bereaved husband. "What a man he is!" writes Mr. Kinsolving to Charles Porterfield Krauth, "I never before formed any just idea of him. He is like an ocean upon which neither winds nor tides have any effect, calm and deep and full of the purest and richest gems."

How deeply the venerable father himself felt the loss of his daughter appears from the following letter to Charles: "No event since your mother's death has so deeply affected me. I feel it to be a special call to me not only to be diligent in preparing for my final change,

but to be active in my professional work. I know you feel that your interest in this visitation is great. Your sister—and such a sister—linked to you by so many ties over and above the relationship—has been taken. She rests from her labors. Great was the power of religion with her. On her death-bed she felt its choicest influence. Her experience testifies amply to its value. May we die as she died! Her journey is finished. Ours is still progressing. She and others dear to us on earth wait for us in heaven. As our thoughts turn to them it must excite desire to be with them. O let us, my dear son, be faithful, faithful as friends of Christ, faithful as ministers of Christ."

Mrs. Kinsolving left three sons, of whom two are living, one being the Rev. G. Herbert Kinsolving, for several years Rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Epiphany, Philadelphia, and afterward Bishop of Texas.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS BETWEEN 1853–1859.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

Winchester, July 9, 1853.

[Dissatisfaction with the July number of the *Review*.]

Your notices of German works I must protest against; not that they are not good, but they have no business to appear in German. You might as well issue the *Review* in German. I think the *Review* ought to have more method, and that the subjects should, to a greater extent, be suggested by you to writers.

[Protest against authors making the *Review* a mere convenience of having their sermons printed.]

Let us have articles on the literature and general history of theology, a good exegetical article, and notices of works appearing in that department, and of the great works that have appeared. Try to give us some good

articles in Church history. That is your department, and yet you give us nothing. The *Review* has been richer in systematic theology—particularly in polemics—than in any other. We have had something in all the departments of practical theology, but not enough. But it is easier to write in this way than to do it. Our professed theologians and men of learning do too little. But I have said too much already.

Our dear Susan has not improved since her return. She is evidently getting weaker, though not yet confined entirely to her bed. Everywhere we miss her, most of all, perhaps, with the children. She endures all with perfect patience and sweetness. Everyone is astonished at her cheerfulness.

The General Synod is still talked of. Its impression was a very fine one. Our Lutherans here were proud of the ministers, and not a little so of themselves.

Winchester, August 5, 1853.

Let your articles on exegesis be somewhere between the German and the popular—the results of learning, divested of its technicalities. You do not write near enough. Every number should embrace at least one article from you. Write something in Church history, too. Monographs on the history of our own Church are greatly needed, and there is no one in the Church, in our country, who could do them as well as yourself. I have had a growing feeling and a painful one that you have, so far as writing is concerned, hidden your candle under a bushel. There is no one in our Church who could have written so much for its welfare, and yet you have written little. I do not think the public is your bugbear. You are your own bugbear. You have a high standard of excellence, and are not willing to undergo the labor which you know will not bring you fully up to it. You love the acquisition of knowledge too much to tear yourself from it for the purpose of imparting it. This is horribly undutiful, perhaps, but you must forgive

me, for I am in earnest. When I look at my own wretched stuff in the *Review*, and find that it is praised, that even you praise it, I feel a sorrow that my father, who is past the middle of life, and whose words are prized by the Church, is not writing more, and is not giving to us what he has written. Here is a fine subject for your pen: "History of the Efforts made for Union in the Church since the Reformation"—"History of Modern Interpretation of the Bible." I would like to see more of the historical vein in the *Review*. As you told me Dr. Schmidt wanted a subject, in writing to him the other day, I proposed "Herder as a Theologian."

What do you think of these themes:

Pulpit Excellence and Defects as Illustrated in Chrysostom.
More Opinions of Great Men about Luther (a sequel).
History of Lutheran Theology from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century. Four articles.
History of Church Service in Lutheran Church since Reformation, Embracing the Prussian Ordnung.
Three More Articles from Guerike on the Church.
History of Theological Encyclopædia and Methodologia.
Answers Made in Sixteenth Century to Objections to Doctrine of Sacramental Presence: A Contribution to History of Dogmatics.
The Roman Missal.
Luther's Catechism Illustrated from Luther's Writings. The Creed.
Reinhard's Reformation Sermons. Translated.
Outlines from the Great Modern German Preachers.

All these I have thought on. Any of them I will readily yield to you. Please don't consider me officious about the *Review*. I am afraid I am, but I don't want to be.

Winchester, January 23, 1855.

I have been so incessantly engaged that I have not had time to attend to my correspondence; even Tholuck, within a few days of completion, has been suspended for months. As soon as I get through *that*, I hope to write for the *Review*, if it be still alive. My sermon on the burning of the Church is now in type, and will soon appear. Some of our village critics consider it superior to any pulpit effort I have made—critics I mean from the community at large. I compressed the sermon a good deal—generally on the principle of Dean Swift's "Advice to Young Clergymen," in regard to the fine passages. You, as usual, will pronounce it inferior to the "magnum opus" on Harn's *feet-washing*.

We are in the midst of a great and continued revival. We had services for nearly three weeks, and most unmistakable evidences of the divine presence in arousing saints, converting sinners, and arresting the careless. Ten persons have been added to the church, four of them heads of families. The meeting is in progress. Rev. Mr. Smeltzer is helping me now. I received a call from Rev. Passavant's congregation, in Pittsburg, last week, but, after some reflection, think that I am safe in declining. This delightful revival has helped me, if not exactly to a conclusion, yet to a strength of conviction in the matter. More than half of the actual communicants in my church have been added since I came here.

My lectures on Genesis—six in number—had nearly carried me through the first chapter, when I was led to suspend them by our meeting. My book-purchases of late have almost all been of a practical, religious character. I have recently purchased Jay's complete works; I was almost a stranger to his writings till lately—and am charmed with them. O what a glorious thing it is to be a minister of the Gospel—even an unworthy one, if not wholly unfaithful. How little have I done for the blessed Master I profess to serve. In all the Moravian Mission stations in the West Indies, I saw a picture of the

Saviour, with crown of thorns; His eyes, with a tender glance, seemed to meet those of the person who looked upon Him, and underneath was the inscription: "All this have I done for thee—what hast thou done for Me?" Oh how little! I pray the past may be forgiven. Unite your prayers with mine that I may accomplish more in the future. Thirteen years and a half have I been in the ministry now—not all misspent I hope, but how little have I done, how little have I been touched by the divine goodness, how little profited by trial. Yet I rejoice that they have not left me wholly unaffected. All the dearest ties of natural affection have been cords to bind me to Christ. My dear mother, you my father, my wife, the lamb taken away by the Shepherd, and now the one to whom my whole heart, disciplined, I trust, and purified by sorrow, is given, all strengthen me in my love to Christ and yet——

My dear father, I know that the love which, when I was under your care, was so unceasing, follows me yet, and your prayers, let them be peculiarly fervent now.

Believe me as ever in all the devotion of the heart of a son, Yours,

CHARLES P. KRAUTH.

C. P. K. TO HIS FATHER.

January 1, 1856.

So far from thinking the *Review* ought to be stopped, my conviction deepens of its importance.* Its publication has made and marked an epoch in our Church. Try more than ever to make it able, and I shall try to obtain subscribers. To me personally, I feel that the *Review* has been worth more than money.

The first number of the weekly (I hope it will not be *weakly*) *Missionary* will appear to-morrow. I have something in it. I wish you, on internal evidence, to decide

* In a previous letter he had suggested that his father should surrender the *Review* to Dr. Reynolds.

what it is, when you see the paper. Brother P. is determined to make the *Missionary the* paper of the Church. It will not be controversial; neither, I hope, will it be tame.

Dr. Bomberger, of Philadelphia, wishes me to take part in the issue of a "condensed" translation of Herzog's "Encyclopædia." I declined doing so now. I think our Church requires all the energies of her sons, and I grow less inclined every day to scatter my efforts here and there, whatever may be the plea with which a false liberality urges me to do so.

Pittsburg, July 7, 1858.

When you wrote last, the affairs of Dr. Mayer's church (St. John's, Philadelphia) were still in suspense. My duty in the whole matter seemed very clear to me. To have even seemed in the remotest degree willing to debate the question of a change in my pastoral relation appeared to me inconsistent with my duty to the church at Pittsburg. Things have been greatly brightening here, and my field grows more and more attractive. If any temptation would try me more sorely than all others, it would be one in which I could devote myself more entirely to thorough and unbroken study. I feel a powerful internal impulse to investigations and labors, for which my present position gives me little time. A retired, country pastorate, where fidelity to my people would be consistent with a larger amount of study in the direction of my favorite topics than I can now devote to them, would draw me more powerfully than a field of more ambition and responsibility. I feel inclined to adopt Schröckh's motto: *Qui bene latuit, bene vixit.*

I just finished this morning the going over of the forty-five volumes of Schröckh's "Kirchengeschichte." I have found it very profitable—examining the whole and reading carefully what seemed to be most interesting and important. I also examined along the course a number of the most important works to which he refers. I

find that by selecting any work, however extensive, and making it invariably the first one to be attacked in the day, I can make very gratifying progress. I went over the last edition of the "Conversations-Lexicon" in the same way before I took up Schröckh.

Pittsburg, September 12, 1858.

I enjoyed my visit to Philadelphia very much. I was mainly occupied in a bibliographical manner while there. I got some few books at Schäfer and Koradi's, mainly in *Dogmatik* and *Dogmengeschichte*, and purchased the fine edition of Chrysostom, in thirteen volumes, which Smith and English had on sale. I am to pay $110 for it—mainly in trade—exchanging other books. I got a few books at Dr. Mayer's, interesting rather than important.

Dr. Krauth's fondness for children made him a favorite with them wherever he went, but showed itself most of all to his own in an infinite tenderness, a perfect understanding, a gentle patience with their faults, a generous appreciation of their efforts to "be good," which made his love the light of their childhood. He made few laws, and punished seldom, but his children knew that he expected from them an implicit, prompt obedience, an exact truthfulness, a conscience in carrying out their promises. "Slow obedience is disobedience," was one of his axioms, which is still repeated to his grandchildren. His wish was sufficient, even without a command; and a sad look on his face, an expression seeming to say: "I thought better of you than that!" was worse than punishment.

While his children were quite small, they were always allowed to amuse themselves in the study, the only limit being that they must play quietly. A set of Tauchnitz's

Classics, substantially bound, were the "building books" which were always at their service.

As they grew older, they were often the companions of his walks, and enjoyed the "liberal education" which intercourse with such a mind must give. Earnest religious thought; charming bits of natural science; quotations from his favorite poets; apt illustrations from history since the world began, or from the classic pages of "Mother Goose"—nothing of his mental wealth was too precious for his children; nothing of their simple interests was too insignificant for him.

The following letter, addressed to his little daughter, needs no further explanation:

Pittsburg, Pa., September 2, 1856.

Make it a rule in life to do your best—it is the only secret of doing well. As to your gold ring, I do not think it would make you any happier, and I am sure would not make you any better to wear it. There are only one or two circumstances under which a ring may be properly worn, and you are not old enough yet to be in those circumstances. I hope you have been cultivating your garden thoroughly. I would rather see your hands a little sunbrunt from that, than glittering with rings.

As you have located your playhouse in the vicinity of a book-case, your dolls will have opportunities for intellectual cultivation of a rare order, and will, like their mamma, help to enlarge the literature of the country. Do not let them read magazines or story-books without express permission from their grandma, and if you should suspect them of slyly reading what has not been permitted, show them that such conduct is very wrong, and will injure them greatly. Teach them to be perfectly candid and straightforward in everything, never to practice concealment, but to be perfectly transparent, so that

everyone may love them for their artlessness and truth. Caution them against indulgence in self-will, peevishness, and hastiness, and thus educate them to be good as well as intelligent, and always aim at setting them the example of whatever you teach.

The summer has passed away. The sunlight twinkles among the leaves in an autumn fashion, and soon they will begin to fall. This month you will reach another birthday. Do you think you are nearly a year wiser and better than you were at your last birthday? You are old enough, my dear daughter, to understand the nature of duty. You were consecrated to God when you were a helpless babe. God has watched over you ever since. He has done all that He promised when He received you in Holy Baptism. Do you know that you made promises too? That, though you were a little babe and could not speak, you yet promised to love God and obey Him, and to be a true lamb of the Great Shepherd? It is my constant prayer that you may keep your baptismal vow, that you may be a holy child. May God bless you.

NINTH CHAPTER.

RELATION TO THE GENERAL SYNOD UP TO THE YEAR 1859.

We have presented to our readers thus far the life of Dr. C. P. Krauth with special regard to his pastoral relations, and his literary labors, up to that important change which took him from Pittsburg to Philadelphia, in September, 1859. Only here and there have we touched on his relation to the great controversy between Old and New School Lutheranism, or, as it was commonly called, between Symbolism and American Lutheranism. In this chapter we propose to draw a picture of the gradual development of the crisis in the General Synod, and of the attitude of Dr. C. P. Krauth with reference to it during this period of his life. In order to do justice to this important subject, it will be necessary to give a short review of the doctrinal and confessional position of the Lutheran Church in America during the century preceding this period.

The Early Fathers of the Lutheran Church in America.

Though there were Lutheran congregations and pastors among the Dutch on the Hudson, and among the Swedes on the Delaware, as early as the first half of the seventeenth century, and later on among the numerous German immigrants, still the real organization of the Lutheran Church in America, on the foundation of the fathers, only dates from the middle of the eighteenth century, and is due to the Rev. Henry Melchior Müh-

lenberg, by common consent the patriarch of the Lutheran Church on this continent, through whose efforts the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, "The Mother Synod," was established in 1748. In missionary zeal, in pastoral tact and fidelity, in organizing ability and personal piety, he had no superior. The standards of the Lutheran Church of the sixteenth century were accepted and endorsed by him without reservation, and in his whole ministerial work he endeavored to come up to this standard, as he had solemnly pledged himself in his ordination vow before the theological faculty of the university at Leipzig, on August 24, 1739, which committed to him the office of "teaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments according to the rule given in the writings of the Prophets and Apostles, the sum of which is contained in those three symbols the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian, in the Augsburg Confession laid before Emperor Charles V., A.D. 1530, in the Apology of the same, in Dr. Luther's large and small Catechism, in the Articles subscribed to in the Smalcald Convention, and in the Formula of Concord. He solemnly promised that he would propose to his hearers what would be conformed and consentient to these writings, and that he would never depart from the sense which they give." (Dr. W. J. Mann's "The Conservatism of Henry Melchior Mühlenberg," in the *Lutheran Church Review*, January, 1888.)

And this was the position not of the patriarch alone, but of his co-laborers, of the whole Synod of Pennsylvania, which he organized, and of the sister—or daughter—Synod of New York, during the lifetime of Mühlenberg and Kunze.

"Those fathers were very far from giving the Lutheran Church, as they organized it on this new field of labor, a form and character in any essential point different from what the Lutheran Church was in the Old World, and especially in Germany. They retained not only the old doctrinal standards, but also the old tradi-

tional elements and forms of worship; the Church Year with its great festivals, its Gospel and Epistle lessons, the Liturgy, the rite of Confirmation, preparatory service for the Lord's Supper, connected with the confession of sins and absolution.

"Their doctrinal position was unmistakably *Lutheran*, in the sense in which Lutheranism is historically known, and is something individual and distinct, and as such stands in opposition to Romanism on the one hand, and to Zwingli, Calvin, and all other so-called Protestant parties on the other.

"Those fathers were admitted to the ministry on condition of their own declaration that they were in harmony with the Confessio Augustana Invariata, and with all the other Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church. They demanded of those whom they admitted to the sacred office, the same condition. They allowed no organization or constitutions of congregations, without demanding the acknowledgment of all the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church as the doctrinal basis.

"Their Lutheranism did not differ from the Lutheran Orthodoxy of the preceding period, in the matter of doctrine, but to an extent in the manner of applying it. It was orthodoxy practically vitalized. They were less polemical and theoretical. Whilst tolerant toward those of other convictions, they were, however, neither indifferent nor unionistically inclined, and never conformed Lutheranism to any other form of Christianity, though in their days the pressure in this direction was heavy. They actualized their own Lutheran convictions through a noble exemplary life and service. Their pietism was truly Lutheran piety, a warm-hearted, devout, active, practical Lutheranism." (Dr. W. J. Mann's "Theses on the Lutheranism of the Fathers of the Church in this Country," First Free Lutheran Diet, p. 281-283.)

The Change.

But when the fathers who had done the hard work of the pioneer during the eighteenth century had departed, a great change made itself felt. Their faithful adherence to the Confession and service of the Church, their conscientious pastoral labors in the building up of congregations, their careful catechetical instruction, their embodiment of a living Christianity in a truly pious, godly walk; all these things were past at the beginning of this century. After the great political changes at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, Christianity was at a low ebb, both in the old world and in the new. Very little of positive faith was to be found, and hardly any trace was left of a true, living, and healthy churchliness. (See also Dr. E. J. Wolf, "The Lutherans in America," pp. 276 ff.) No wonder that this general decline affected also the Lutheran Church in this country, where it had just succeeded, under great trials and by hard struggles, in establishing a new home, and now found itself at the critical period, when the transition had just begun from a purely German church of immigrants, to an English-speaking church of native Americans.

Only a few years after the death of Father Mühlenberg, the evidences of the change began to appear, both in Pennsylvania and in New York. In 1787 the patriarch was called to his rest, and in 1792 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania adopted a new Constitution, omitting all reference to the Confession of the Lutheran Church. This changed constitution formed the basis of that adopted by the Ministerium of New York. A few years afterward in the latter Synod that famous resolution was passed: "That on account of the intimate relation subsisting between the English Episcopalian and Lutheran Churches, the identity of their doctrine and the near approach of their Church discipline, this consistory will never acknowledge a newly erected Lutheran Church in

places where the members may partake of the services of the said English Episcopal Church." A fitting parallel to this resolution, which was, however, rescinded seven years afterward, is found in the advances made by the Mother Synod of Pennsylvania, toward a union with the German Reformed Church, first in 1819 for the joint establishment of a common Theological Seminary, and afterward, in 1822, for a general union with the Evangelical Reformed Church." (See Minutes of 1822.) During the same period we find, especially in the New York Ministerium, the hymn-books, catechisms, and agenda prepared by the fathers superseded by new productions, tainted with rationalism and socinianism. The chief representative of this new departure was the leader of the New York Ministerium after Dr. Kunze's death, the able and influential Dr. Quitman, a disciple and adherent of the German "Rationalismus vulgaris," of Semler, Teller, and other like-minded men.

With this powerful influx of rationalism, and with the tendency of the remaining positive elements of our Church, to assimilate and unite themselves with the surrounding "Evangelical Denominations," there was evident danger for the Lutheran Church in America of losing her historical connection with the fathers, and surrendering the distinctive features for which they contended, and as a religious society becoming simply a member of the Reformed family. At this point of threatening disintegration and dilapidation, the first steps were taken toward the establishment of the General Synod, which was certainly an honest effort to improve the state of affairs, to gather the scattered members of our Lutheran Church, and to preserve her as such on this Western Continent.

Viewed in this light, the formation of the General Synod was "an offspring of reviving Lutheranism," as Dr. Krauth called it.

But the difficulty and danger arose from the fact that two conflicting and irreconcilable elements tried to unite

in it with a sort of compromise, the one, latitudinarian, unlutheran, unwilling or unable to prize the treasures of the Mother Church of the Reformation, and over-anxious to exchange them for Puritan legalism and Methodistic "new measures"; the other, conservative, holding on to the inheritance of the fathers, and hoping almost against hope, to bring the Church back to their good foundation. If the former element succeeded in keeping out of the General Synod's original constitution any direct and outspoken reference to the historic confession of the Lutheran Church, the latter might have thought themselves secure in the provision, which denied to the General Synod the power "to make or demand any alteration whatever in the doctrines hitherto received by us." But the first-named party, at the outset, had the popular sympathy on its side; it was the "American" over against the "foreigner"; it was aggressive, and had the advantage of having able and determined leaders, and thus, during the first twenty-five years of the General Synod's history easily ruled the day, while the Lutheran consciousness of the second party slowly awoke from its slumbers, and those that were to be its leaders on the day of battle were quietly maturing from boyhood into manhood. But we are anticipating history. We ought first to narrate the principal facts in connection with

The Formation of the General Synod.

It is not at all impossible that the tidal wave of the religious revival which started in Germany, in connection with the great Reformation Jubilee of 1817, having reached our American shores, became one of the impulses toward the formation of the General Synod. In Germany that movement was in the first place a general return to positive Christianity, after the long reign of rationalism. But the current of new religious life soon appeared, divided into two branches. On the one side

it was in the direction of Unionism, resulting in the so-called Evangelical Church of Prussia, uniting the Lutheran and Reformed into one. On the other hand it led to the renewal of confessional Lutheranism in which the well-known prophecy of Claus Harms was realized, when he raised his protest against that union: "That poor handmaid, our Lutheran Church, is to be made rich, by a marriage. Do not perform the act over Luther's bones. They might be quickened into life and then——"

The parallel to this, in our American church life, is not difficult to discover. Here also a great Reformation Jubilee was celebrated in 1817. Here also it was, in the first place, of a unionistic character. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania invited the Moravians, Episcopalians, Reformed, and Presbyterians to unite with them in this celebration. The Moravians accepted the invitation. Bishop William White sent a courteous reply to the President of the Pennsylvania Synod, Rev. Geo. Lochmann, welcoming this occasion, "on account of the agreement in doctrine, which has always been considered as subsisting between the Lutheran Churches and the Church of England." In the city of New York the eloquent Lutheran pastor, Frederick Christian Schaeffer, having kept the jubilee in the morning with his own congregation, delivered an English discourse in the afternoon in St. Paul's Episcopal Church, on the text: "I believe, therefore I have spoken." Thousands were unable to find admittance to the service, so great was the throng.

It was the Mother Synod of Pennsylvania that took the initiative in the formation of the General Synod. She has the first claim to whatever honor and merit may belong to the originators of this movement. But she is also, in the first place, responsible for the weakness which characterized it from the beginning. If there was no reference whatever to the confessional basis of the Lutheran Church in the original plan and constitution of the General Synod, it must be remembered that the

same Ministerium which invited the Lutheran Synods to form a fraternal union of the whole Evangelical Church in these United States, was at that very time planning a union with the Reformed Church!

At the meeting of the Pennsylvania Synod in Harrisburg (1818), the desire was officially expressed that the different Evangelical Lutheran synods in the United States should be brought into closer connection with each other. They were invited to send representatives to the next meeting of the Pennsylvania Synod in Baltimore (1819), where the plan of uniting the different synods into one general body formed the principal topic of discussion.

A letter was received from the above-mentioned Frederick Christian Schaeffer, of New York, urging the Synod to leave nothing undone that might serve, in a proper way, to bring about a union of the different Lutheran Synods in the United States. And then the letter proceeds: "It is also desirable that another object, of gravest importance, should be duly considered—a closer union between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in our States. In this laudable and truly evangelical cause our brethren in Germany have set us an excellent example. And, as many members of both confessions in America are extremely anxious to prove their relation to the old Fatherland as true Germans, and even want no other language used in their churches in this country except the language used in Germany—though common sense, the commandment of Jesus, and the welfare of both Churches, in a number of cases, call for a different attitude—it may be well to conclude that, as the Lutherans and Reformed in Germany are united in one Evangelical Church, and are no longer separated as different Churches, but form one fold, the true Germans in America will, in this respect, try to imitate the Germans in Germany." *

* The manuscript of this letter, written in the English language, is kept in the Archives of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania.

The secretary of the North Carolina Synod, Rev. Gottlieb Schober, who was himself a Moravian, though serving Lutheran congregations, represented his Synod at this meeting. He was accorded a seat and vote in the Ministerium, and exerted himself to the utmost in favor of the proposed union. He was appointed member of the committee which was charged with drawing up a plan for the organization of such a general, central body. This plan (Plan-Entwurf), or proposition, for a "General Union of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of North America" was published over the signatures of the officers of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and, after the requisite number of synods had agreed to it, an organization was effected in a convention held at Hagerstown, October, 1820, Pennsylvania, New York, North Carolina, and Maryland-Virginia being represented. The first regular convention of the General Synod was held in Frederick, Md., on the third Sunday in October, 1821. Only three synods—Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Maryland-Virginia—were represented by twenty delegates. It was, indeed, a small beginning, full of discouragements. Ohio kept aloof. Tennessee not only refused to come in, but at once fiercely attacked the plan and constitution of the General Synod, which "did not even mention the Bible or the Augsburg Confession," and therefore failed to offer a satisfactory confessional basis for such an ecclesiastical union.

Withdrawal of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania.

The worst disappointment, however, befell the new organization in the withdrawal of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, at Lebanon, 1823. The reasons for this action were not conscientious difficulties of a doctrinal or confessional character. In that respect, the Henkel brothers, of Tennessee, were far ahead of Pennsylvania. Several congregations of the Mother Synod, such as Salzburg, in Lehigh County, Kutztown, Macungie, and oth-

ers, protested against the connection with the General Synod, and against the plan of a central theological seminary. They had been excited, as Dr. G. F. Krotel says ("The General Synod and the Pennsylvania Synod: A Few Chapters of History"—*Lutheran* and *Missionary*, November 9, 16, 23, 1865), by "slanderous insinuations in reference to the dangerous power and influence of the proposed General Synod, by which the rights of congregations would seriously suffer, and an attempt would be made to impose something of the European Church and State system upon the freemen of America." To these prejudices the Synod yielded for the sake of peace. "It appears," says the record, "that the good intentions of our synod concerning the General Synod, the establishment of a theological seminary, which was hoped for, and the union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of this country, which was the desire of our hearts, are thoroughly misunderstood by some of our older congregations, which have ever held a high place in our affections, as also by some who entered our synod only within the last two years." It was therefore resolved: "(1) That no more delegates be sent to the General Synod; (2) that no steps be taken toward the establishment of a theological seminary; (3) that the matter of a future union with the Reformed Church be only an object of our wishes (sic); (4) that these resolutions shall remain in force until, at some future time, the congregations themselves shall come to see their misunderstanding of our good intentions, and urge the rescinding of these resolutions."

The separation, or rather suspension, of representation lasted just thirty years, from 1823 to 1853. All through this period there was much friendly intercourse between members of the General Synod and members of the Mother Synod, as well as between the two bodies as such. While, in 1823, it could hardly be said of the Synod of Pennsylvania that she was more devoted and faithful to the faith of the Fathers than the General

Synod, the development in the two bodies during the years of separation was more and more on diverging lines. "On the one side (on the part of the Pennsylvania Synod), there was an increasing disposition to look for the old ways, and to re-examine more carefully the principles and usages of the Church; while, on the other (the part of the General Synod), the spirit of progress, as it was called, was so much disposed to adapt Lutheranism to the spirit of the land and the age, that it often cast aside what was good, simply because it was old." (Dr. G. F. Krotel, in the above-mentioned articles, in the *Lutheran and Missionary.*)

The historical development of the General Synod's Lutheranism, and her relation to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania up to this point, is thus described by Dr. C. P. Krauth himself, in an article written shortly before the rupture at Fort Wayne, and intended to be as irenical as possible: *

"Our General Synod was organized at a period when the fearful thrall of rationalism was almost complete over parts of our Church, and was felt in various degrees in almost every part of it, and by no means least in some parts of our own land. There were men who profaned the pulpits and professorial chairs, under the name of Lutherans, who were infidels—hardly disguising their real character, and from these men, down to a sober negativism, were men who deviated in various degrees from the faith of the Church. In the United States there were nominally Lutheran synods which were largely Unitarian, and in such synods commenced, and in them, for a long time, was confined, the idea that men may call themselves Lutherans while they repudiate the historical faith of our Church as set forth in her Confession.

*The General Synod. Theological Characteristics of the Era of its Formation. Lutheran and Missionary. May 3, 1866.

In the rationalism of Europe, which was imported, and in the Socinianism of New England, which was of native growth, originated the fearful change which came over our Church, and it is to these influences that we owe nearly every trouble under which our Church now labors. The period which lies between the passing away of the fathers of American Lutheranism (we have not made a slip of the pen; we like the phrase in its genuine sense) and the rise of the General Synod is the one in which the roots of the evils, which even now overshadow us, and which some men would have to overshadow us forever, struck themselves. The General Synod embraced two distinct kinds of nominal friends: First, those who went into it because they felt the necessity of higher unity, of greater doctrinal purity, and of a more comprehensive and intelligent activity on the part of our Church; and secondly, of those whose nominal Lutheranism drew them into a personal sympathy with this first class, although the doctrines and spirit of it were more elevated than their own, or who were drawn in almost mechanically by the general movement of the Church. In other words, our General Synod embraced elements which were distinctly Lutheran, and others distinctly Latitudinarian.

"The first party in our General Synod was characterized over against the other by these peculiarities, that, on the whole, they were more Lutheran in doctrine, and more active in their piety than the second. The relatively higher Lutheranism of the first friends of our General Synod was connected with a relatively higher spirituality and aggressiveness. In a word, the most spiritual, active, energetic men of the earlier General Synod were better Lutherans than the others—more tenacious of the fundamentals of Lutheranism, not only as they may be common to other Christian communions, but as they are taught in the Catechism and Confession. Though they had so far felt the evil tendency of the times that they fell far below the doctrinal decision and consistent

Lutheranism of Muhlenberg and his co-laborers in the founding of our Church in this country, yet they were relatively decided, relatively Lutheran, and their Lutheranism had something of the ardor and earnestness of that earlier time. It was the desire of the former party to make the General Synod as strong in government, and as Lutheran in doctrine, as they possibly could; of the latter to give it as little constitutional power as possible, mainly in the fear that it might become a means by which a stricter doctrinal uniformity might be brought about. It did not need much time to prove where the greater strength lay. The more Lutheran influence proved itself the mightier, and the friends of the laxer tendencies dropped off from the General Synod. That is the philosophy of its first losses, and indubitably in part the philosophy of a loss that seemed as if it must be ruinous—the loss of the old Pennsylvania Synod. That Synod embraced, indeed, even at the time of its *tacit* withdrawal, many men whose sympathies were with the more truly Lutheran tendencies of the General Synod. But it felt the latitudinarian tendency of the day; some of its clergy, and an immense proportion of its people, were averse to the General Synod, on the ground of its growing distinctively Lutheran character. The friends of the General Synod within it felt that a forced connection with that body would be useless, and thus, not, as we have ever heard, by any formal withdrawal, but by a mere suspension of representation, the Pennsylvania Synod ceased to co-operate with the General Synod. Thus was brought about a sundering, which seemed disastrous, but which was overruled by God for good.

"The relations of that Synod to the General Synod were never antagonistic or unfriendly. The General Synod itself recognized the circumstances as excusing, if not absolutely necessitating, the attitude of the old Synod. Expressions of the most cordial good feeling were exchanged, and the hope indulged and expressed on both

sides that the enforced separation, over which both grieved, would come to a happy end. It is a happy tradition in the Mother Synod, which has never lost its power even in the darkest hours, that the earnest convictions of minorities are to be regarded with fraternal forbearance. Hence it is that the harsh overriding of the few by the many is a thing unknown. Majorities have deferred their preferences to give the minority time to see eye to eye with them. Majorities have modified their action, or surrounded it with safeguards, to meet the conscientious fears of the minority. It is a question whether any synodical body of any Church can exhibit a purer spirit of fraternity than breathes and glows in the heart of this Synod. This peculiarity is largely to be taken into account in explaining the fact that, while, throughout, there was a majority of her ministers favorable to active co-operation with the General Synod, that co-operation, for a time, was allowed to cease.

"There were others, indeed, especially in the Tennessee Synod, who stood aloof from the General Synod, because, as they alleged, it was not Lutheran enough, but those who look into the controversies of that period will soon discover two things: one is that the allegations of these opponents, so far as they had any force in them, drew their strength from features of the General Synod, which were shaped by the Latitudinarian class; and, furthermore, that the defenders of the General Synod always maintained, against these charges, that the General Synod was a body in which these strict Lutherans might conscientiously unite, and that their objections were ungrounded. The desire, prayer, and aim of the best friends of our General Synod were that it should embrace every Lutheran body on this side of the Atlantic. That the Constitution of our General Synod shows only too many sad traces of the embarrassments of its time is not to be denied; but it is very certain that the predominant spirit in it is one which would not have endured the proposition that it might lawfully tolerate

the laxity which so largely abroad, and too largely in the United States, had sheltered itself under the name of our Church."

The Two Currents in the General Synod.

But for the present we have to do with the General Synod alone, and its development during this period. There we can readily discern two different currents: one that seeks to remain in contact with the faith of the Fathers and the historical Lutheran Church; the other, and by far the stronger, which drifts away further and further from the distinctive life and spirit of the Church of the Augustana. On the one side, the impartial historian must readily concede that the General Synod, with great courage and determination, undertook to give a standing and recognition to the Lutheran Church in America, such as she had not enjoyed before; that it was "a holy experiment, concentrating the resources of the Church to effect purposes to which no individual synod would have been competent," and that it succeeded in organizing the educational and missionary work of the Church. The establishment of a theological seminary; the sending of a delegation to Germany to rouse the sympathies of the Fatherland, and to collect contributions for the Lutheran Church in America; the formation of the "Parent Educational Society" to assist indigent pious young men in their preparation for the Gospel ministry; the "Central Missionary Society," with special reference to domestic missions; the "Foreign Missionary Society," for the preaching of the Gospel among the Telugus in India; the establishment of a "Pastors' Fund"; the attention given to Church literature and a book company—all these were measures of the highest importance, looking to the vital interests of the Lutheran Church in her new western home. Here and there we even discover slight traces of a fuller consciousness and appreciation of the peculiar gifts and re-

sponsibilities of the Lutheran Church, and an endeavor to assert and preserve her individual character. Thus the word "Lutheran" is inserted in the title of the Synods constituting the General Synod (at Hagerstown, 1829). The 31st of October is recommended for an annual observance of the Festival of Reformation (Baltimore, 1833). Arndt's "True Christianity," translated by Rev. J. N. Hofman, is recommended to the churches as a devotional book (*Ibid.*). Strong disapprobation is expressed of the Franckean Synod, as "introducing practices which we consider contrary to the word of God, thereby causing disturbances and divisions in our churches" (Chambersburg, 1839). A "well-authenticated and judiciously written life of Luther, setting forth his opinions on cardinal theological points of doctrine," is recognized as a desideratum in the Church, and a minister is appointed to write such a biography (Baltimore, 1841). It is admitted and deplored "that the singing in our English churches has lost much of that character for which it has always been distinguished in our German churches; that it is less general, less animated, less fervid;" that this result is "attributable to the fact that choirs have, to a great extent, monopolized this important part of Christian worship, and introduced, at pleasure, every variety of tune-books, and it is of the highest moment that the singing in all our churches should again become as general as it once was, and be made more simple and uniform than it has been for many years" (New York, 1848). The proposed translation of the "Halle'sche Nachrichten" by Rev. J. W. Richards is most cordially recommended, "furnishing, as they do, much information in reference to the history of the Lutheran Church in America, and especially the labors of the first German missionaries in this country" (Charleston, 1850).

Unfortunately, this feeble current of conservative, positive Lutheranism, which we would gladly recognize in the above utterances, is more than counterbalanced

by a broad and powerful current of Unionism and Indifferentism, which, after it had been running for a time in apparent peacefulness alongside of the former, finally turns against it and threatens to swallow it up. Though the official records do not bring out this side so boldly as it is done in the editorials of the *Lutheran Observer* and the writings of Dr. S. S. Schmucker, the leading theologian of the General Synod, still the minutes give ample testimony in this direction. We quote the following to illustrate this spirit: The General Synod waives the publication of a Lutheran hymn-book of its own, because it is unwilling to disturb the "joint Hymn-Book for the Lutheran and Reformed Churches" (Gettysburg, 1827). A committee is appointed to report on the advantages or disadvantages of a union between the Reformed and Lutheran Churches (Baltimore, 1833). Certain utterances of the Synod of Ohio against the so-called "New Measures" are severely censured by the General Synod (*Ibid.*). The very same resolution which disapproves of the radicalism of the Franckeans, condemns also the conservatism of the Tennessee Synod (Chambersburg, 1839). A union with the German Reformed is proposed by the Foreign Missionary Society (*Ibid.*). The "Luther Biography," ordered in 1841, is committed to the hands of Dr. B. Kurtz, a pronounced "New Measure" man, who, in almost every issue of his *Lutheran Observer*, attacked and ridiculed what was most sacred to Luther. This "Luther Biography" was afterward committed to Professor William M. Reynolds, at that time a more conservative Lutheran, who, in March, 1864, joined the Episcopal Church. The biography was never published. Concerning its relations to the Presbyterian Church, the General Synod "cordially approves of the practice which has hitherto prevailed in our churches—of inviting communicants in regular standing in either Church to partake of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the other, and of the dismission of church members, at their own request, from the churches

of the one to those of the other denomination" (Philadelphia, 1845). The publications of the American Tract Society, as also those of the American Sunday-School Union, and the extension of the former's operations to the German population, are cordially indorsed, in spite of the opposition of the staunch Lutheran, Wynecke (*Ibid.*). The General Synod, at several of its conventions, is led to indorse Dr. S. S. Schmucker's elaborate and comprehensive scheme of an "Apostolic Protestant Union," with the following features: Unity of name; unity in fundamental doctrines, while diversity in non-essentials was conceded; mutual acknowledgment of each other's acts of discipline; sacramental and ministerial inter-communion; convention of the different churches of the land in synod or council, for mutual consultation or ecclesiastical regulation (New York, 1848). But nowhere was the prevailing spirit more frankly revealed than in that famous letter addressed to the Evangelical Church in Germany, in 1845, by a committee appointed by the General Synod. Here it was declared without reservation: "In most of our Church principles we stand on common ground with the Union Church of Germany. The distinctive doctrines which separate the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches we do not consider essential. The tendency of the so-called old Lutheran party seems to us to be behind the time. Luther's peculiar views concerning the presence of the Lord's body in the communion have long been abandoned by the majority of our ministers."

The Doctrinal Basis of the General Synod as Interpreted by Her Leaders.

The original Constitution of the General Synod, as printed in the minutes of the Hagerstown convention (1829), has no direct and clear statement of Confession or doctrine. The standards of the historical Lutheran Church are entirely ignored. The only article that could

possibly be constructed as a safeguard against doctrinal innovations and deviations from the faith of the Fathers, was the provision, that "the General Synod cannot be allowed to introduce such alterations in matters appertaining to the faith, or to the mode of publishing the Gospel of Jesus Christ (the Son of God, and ground of our faith and hope), as might in any way tend to burden the consciences of the brethren in Christ" (Art. III., Sec. II., 3). The parenthesis in this clause was evidently a protest against Socinian tendencies, which were suspected here and there in New York and Pennsylvania (see the minutes of the Pennsylvania Synod, Lebanon, 1823, p. 26), and is really the only positive statement of faith in the whole document. As for the rest of the article, it might be constructed by either party to suit their own position and claims. The Radicals, or New-Measure men, who, in their generation, had not heard the Gospel preached and the faith of the Church taught according to the pure Confession of Augsburg, might look upon any attempt to go back to that Confession and to stand by it as an "alteration, and tending to burden their consciences." And, if this article would not give them sufficient liberty, there was another article, strong enough to protect them against any "oppression" by creeds or symbols. Section V., 1, provided "that the General Synod may give advice or opinion, when complaints shall be brought before them, by whole synods, ministeriums, congregations, or individual ministers, concerning doctrine or discipline. They shall, however, be extremely careful that the consciences of the ministers of the Gospel be not burdened with human inventions, laws, or devices, and that no one be oppressed by reason of differences of opinion on non-fundamental doctrines." As the bulk of the Confessional writings of the Lutheran Church was classified by the leaders with "human inventions, laws, and devices," or, at the very best, with "non-fundamental doctrines," any pastor or professor might feel perfectly safe in throwing overboard the mass

of these Symbolical Books and their contents, without fear of having to answer for it. But more than this. Not only did the General Synod's Constitution afford ample protection to those who were utterly indifferent to the Confessions of the Lutheran Church, it even furnished the weapons by which those standards might be attacked, set aside, and superseded by new declarations, catechisms, or confessions. Article III., Section II., 1, declares that the General Synod shall examine all books and writings, such as catechisms, forms of liturgy, collections of hymns, or confessions of faith, proposed by the special synods for public use, and give their well-considered advice, counsel, or opinion concerning the same. And Section II., 2, continues: "Whenever the General Synod shall deem it proper or necessary, they may propose to the special synods or ministeriums new books or writings of the kind mentioned above, for general or special public use." Inasmuch as "the kind mentioned above" includes "catechisms" and "confessions of faith," it was, with a good show of justice, claimed by the American Lutheran side in the General Synod that the very Constitution of the body entitled it to make a new revision even of the Augsburg Confession!

With this Constitution before him, the editor of the *Lutheran Observer*, Dr. Benjamin Kurtz, in Baltimore, was right in stating the case after this manner (*Lutheran Observer*, April 16, 1852): "We admit that the General Synod never formally, or by express resolution, repudiated or abandoned the doctrinal basis (as laid down in the Augsburg Confession and the Catechism of Luther). But did it ever either formally or tacitly profess belief in that basis? What necessity is there for a body formally to repudiate or abandon what it never received or adopted? It is a notorious fact that the symbolic basis had been abandoned in the Church to a very great extent, before the General Synod was called into existence, and at its organization special pains were taken to guard against all possibility of its future imposition upon the

Church. In defining the doctrinal position of the General Synod, the manifest intention was to give to each other, and to establish for posterity, a pledge that the doctrinal basis should never be allowed to interfere with their consciences."

When the General Synod established her Theological Seminary in Gettysburg, it was resolved (Frederick, Md., 1825) "that in this seminary shall be taught, in the German and English languages, the fundamental doctrines of the sacred Scriptures, as contained in the Augsburg Confession." And when the Rev. S. S. Schmucker, A.M., was inducted "into the professorship of Christian theology," on September 5, 1826, the solemn charge was delivered to him by the Rev. D. F. Schaeffer, A.M., who said, among other things: "As the Lord has signally favored our beloved Church, as her tenets are Biblical, and her veriest enemies cannot point out an important error in her articles of faith, no more than could the enemies of the truth at the Diet of Worms prove the books of the immortal reformer erroneous; therefore the Church which entrusts you with the preparation and formation of her pastors, demands of you (and in her behalf I solemnly charge you) to establish all students confided to your care, in that faith which distinguishes our Church from others. If any should object to such faith, or any part of it, or refuse to be convinced of the excellence of our discipline, they have their choice to unite with such of our Christian brethren whose particular views in matters of faith and discipline may suit them better. I hold it, however, as indispensable for the peace and welfare of a church that unity of sentiment should prevail upon all important matters of faith and discipline among its pastors. Hence, I charge you to exert yourself in convincing our students that the Augsburg Confession is a safe directory to determine upon matters of faith declared in the Lamb's book."

This reference to the Augsburg Confession in the Constitution of the General Synod's Theological Seminary

had been introduced by Professor S. S. Schmucker himself, who was afterward most distinguished in opposing the old symbolic basis, and who was convinced that his teaching in the Seminary was in no wise in conflict with the professor's oath he had taken. His views on the doctrinal position of the General Synod have been fully set forth in all his writings, and we are never at a loss to understand exactly what he means. We will let him speak for himself, as the most authentic interpreter of the Constitution of the General Synod and that of its Theological Seminary.

In the dedication of his "Lutheran Manual" (Gettysburg, April, 1855), he writes as follows:

"The founders of the General Synod were men of enlarged, liberal, and Scriptural views of the Kingdom of Christ. Convinced of the gradual abandonment of the whole mass of Symbolical Books in Germany, as well as from the personal examination of them, of their want of adaptedness to the age, they regarded it as the grand vocation of the American Church, released by Providence from civil servitude, to reconstruct her framework, assuming a more friendly attitude toward sister churches, and so organizing as to promote Scriptural union among Protestants, and to bring up our church institutions to the increased light of Biblical study and Providential development. This enlightened, this millennial attitude of the founders of the General Synod, the writer can confidently affirm, from personal knowledge, having been well acquainted with the greater part of them, and having been present at Baltimore in 1819, when the formation of the Synod was, after ample discussion, resolved on; and at Hagerstown, in 1820, when the Constitution was formed.

"But the Constitution speaks for itself; for it invested the General Synod with power to form a *new* Confession of Faith, and *new catechisms*, suited to the progress of Biblical light, and the developed views of the Church. Subsequently, it was believed that the neces-

sities of the case would be best met by the retention of the Augsburg Confession, on account of its importance as a link in the chain of historical Christianity, and by prescribing its *qualified* adoption, viz., as to the fundamental aspects of Scripture doctrine.

. . . . . .

"It is an incontestable fact, which can easily be established, that the original standpoint of the General Synod, whilst controlled by the Pennsylvania Synod, was *rejection of the binding authority* of the old confessions. This is undeniably proved by their not even naming the Augsburg Confession in their Constitution; by their declining even a qualified recognition of it, and by their inserting a clause expressly giving authority to the General Synod to *form a confession of faith;* yea, even going further, and *giving the same authority to each distinct Synod* also. (See the original Constitution, Article III., Section 2.) It seems to me no intelligent and unprejudiced mind can resist this conclusion as to their doctrinal standpoint, whilst I and others who were present, know it to have been as above stated.

"After the abandonment of the General Synod, in 1823, by the Synods of Pennsylvania and New York, that body was chiefly sustained by the zeal and activity of younger men, in connection with a few beloved fathers, who remained with us. At the very next meeting of the General Synod, in 1825, I had the pleasure, as well as honor, to introduce, for the first time in the history of that body, the recognition of the Augsburg Confession. At that time there were none amongst the friends of the General Synod who did not reject several tenets of the Augsburg Confession, such as private confession and absolution, as we all still do. Accordingly, the assent to the Augsburg Confession, expressed in the statutes for the Theological Seminary presented by me, was a *qualified* one; it should and was intended to bind only to the *fundamentals* of the Scriptures, as taught in the Augsburg Confession. The language was well un-

derstood then, and was deemed clear and satisfactory; it has always been interpreted in the same way since, except by some, of late, whose predilections would incline them to find in it, if possible, some support for their more rigidly symbolic views." (From "The Olive Branch," in *Lutheran Observer*, February 15, 1861.)

Even more fully are his views on this point set forth in an elaborate article on the "Vocation of the American Lutheran Church" (*Evangelical Review*, April, 1851). There he says: "It is our vocation to cast off all regard for the authority of the fathers, Nicene and Ante-Nicene, Romish and Protestant, excepting what justly attaches to them on account of the intrinsic force of their arguments, or their character and opportunities as witnesses of facts; for no point in patristic theology is more fully established than the numerous and serious aberrations of even some of the earliest so-called fathers, from the truth of God."

"To be without any other symbol than the Bible was manifestly a defect, and how did the General Synod, believing it such, and feeling herself called to furnish a remedy, fulfil her vocation? She did it, we reply, in a manner evincing alike her consciousness of the progress of theological science and the Scriptural development of the Church, as well as her respect for her ecclesiastical ancestry; in a manner, we venture to affirm, that has commanded the respect of all enlightened divines of other Churches, and has been signally blessed of God for her own enlargement and improvement. She required unqualified assent to the Bible, and an assent to the Augsburg Confession, as a substantially correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Bible. She did it by establishing her Theological Seminary on the same doctrinal basis, not for the purpose of teaching the symbolic system of the sixteenth century—for her leading members had all relinquished some of its features—but, as her Constitution, adopted in 1825, explicitly declares, to prepare men to teach, not all the doc-

trines or aspects of doctrine in the Augsburg Confession, but the '*fundamental* doctrines'; and not those aspects of doctrine which might be considered fundamental peculiarities of that Confession, but 'the fundamental doctrines *of the Scriptures*'—those aspects of doctrine which Christians generally regard as fundamental truths of the *Word of God.* The symbolical books of the General Synod and the seminary at Gettysburg are the *Bible* and *the Augsburg Confession, as a substantially correct exhibition of the fundamental truths of the Bible.* To this the professorial oath of office in the seminary adds a similar *fundamental* assent to the two Catechisms of Luther. For the professors to inculcate on their students the obsolete views of the old Lutherans contained in the former symbols of the Church in some parts of Germany, such as exorcism, the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, private confession, baptismal regeneration, immersion in baptism, as taught in Luther's Larger Catechism, etc., would be to betray the confidence of those who elected them to office, and to defeat the design of the institution."

The symbolic position of the General Synod is afterward reduced to the following three features: "1. She has declared against the extended symbolic system of the former ages of our Church. 2. She has avowed the necessity of a brief creed, to exclude fundamental errorists from her pale. 3. She has adopted the Augsburg Confession, as to fundamentals, for this purpose, as well on account of its intrinsic excellence as its important historical associations. With this we, for ourselves, are fully satisfied. We believe this position, so signally blessed of God, to be truly apostolic and well calculated to extend the borders and improve the doctrinal purity and spiritual character of our Church. Yet there seem to be some few ministers, even in the General Synod, who appear not to trust either themselves or others with so much apostolic liberty, though it is much less than the Church enjoyed for four centuries—yea,

so far as doctrine is concerned, for a thousand years after the apostolic age! If it is deemed advisable to gratify this yearning after human creeds, we would propose the adoption of the following system:

"1. *The so-called Apostles' Creed.*
"2. *The Nicene Creed.*
"3. *The Augsburg Confession,* so far as its doctrinal articles are concerned, with one single clause annexed, stating that its teachings on the following doctrines shall not be regarded as binding, but belief or rejection of them be left to the conscience of each individual, viz., the real presence, baptismal regeneration, private confession and absolution, 'ceremonies of the mass,' the personal and condemning guilt of natural depravity prior to moral action."

The "summary" of doctrine to which Dr. S. S. Schmucker constantly returns, and which he in reality would have substituted in the place of the Lutheran Confession or that of any other denomination, is found in the articles adopted by the Evangelical Alliance in London, 1846. They are as follows:

1. The divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures.
2. The right and duty of private judgment in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.
3. The unity of the Godhead, and the Trinity of Persons therein.
4. The utter depravity of human nature in consequence of the fall.
5. The incarnation of the Son of God, His work of atonement for sinners of mankind, and His mediatorial intercession and reign.
6. The justification of the sinner by faith alone.
7. The work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner.
8. The divine institution of the Christian ministry,

and the obligation and perpetuity of the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper.

9. The immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the judgment of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ, with the eternal blessedness of the righteous and the eternal punishment of the wicked.

(See Dr. S. S. Schmucker's article, "Church Development on Apostolic Principles," *Evangelical Review*, October, 1850.)

It was the infatuation of the great theological leader of the New School, or American Lutheranism, that he hoped to build up his Church in this country and to serve the Kingdom of God at large best, if he could have the Augsburg Confession amended by "striking out all that is objectionable to any Protestant Evangelical Church, retaining the remainder as the Protestant Confession" ("Historical Meditations and Notes," in manuscript, by Dr. S. S. Schmucker). "It is worthy of constant remembrance," he says, "that during the first four centuries, under the immediate pupils of the inspired apostles and their successors, the voice of the universal Church under the whole heaven was that nothing more than fundamental agreement should be required for communion in the Christian Church and Christian ministry. Not a single orthodox church practised differently. All required assent only to the several œcumenical confessions, the so-called Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds. Now, could this possibly be the case if it were a matter of such supreme importance to the Church to bind all the ministers to the entire system of theological opinions of any one uninspired man, or even of a dozen such men, who may participate in the formation of such a trans-fundamental and extended creed? Could a duty of such vast importance, as symbolists suppose this to be, have escaped the understanding and wisdom of the whole Christian world? No, the practice of binding the conscience of ministers and members to extended creeds, containing minor points, on which men in all churches

and all ages have differed and ever will differ, and thus splitting up the Body of Christ without His authority, is, and must be, *highly criminal.* The fathers who founded the General Synod all considered the recognition of fundamentals as sufficient, and here, in this free country, determined to return to the practice of the earlier and purer centuries of the Church. These fathers were Drs. J. G. Schmucker, George Lochmann, C. Endress, F. W. Geissenhainer, Daniel Kurtz, H. A. Mühlenberg, P. F. Mayer, H. Schaeffer and D. F. Schaeffer, Rev. Gottl. Schober and Rev. Peter Schmucker, with their younger co-laborers, Drs. Benjamin Kurtz, S. S. Schmucker (Charles Philip Krauth, Sr.?). Holding this opinion, they did not introduce any recognition, even of the Augsburg Confession, into their original constitution in 1820. But at the third meeting, in 1825, they adopted certain resolutions for the foundation of the Theological Seminary, and statutes for its government, and bound its professors to the fundamental doctrines of Scripture, as taught in the Augsburg Confession. They thus returned to the principles and practice of the earlier and purer centuries of the Church, when the influence of the Saviour and His inspired Apostles was more sensibly felt in the Church." (Manuscript Notes of Dr. S. S. Schmucker.) Thus the General Synod's professor of dogmatic theology, by a most unhistorical *salto mortale*, proposed to leap back over fully 1,500 years of church life, and, ignoring the struggles, victories, acquisitions, and confessions of the sixteenth century, moved to strike out of existence his own and every other historical church of Protestantism, to enjoy the satisfaction and glory of having delivered the Church from the "Post-Lutheran Symbolic System," including the Augustana and every other confession, and having restored "apostolic liberty."

In these statements the professor of dogmatic theology in the seminary of the General Synod was vigor-

ously seconded by the editor of the *Lutheran Observer*, the only weekly organ in the English language which the Lutheran Church in the East possessed. For years and years he was indefatigable in his coarse and irreverential, yea, blasphemous, attacks upon what was set forth as most sacred in the Confessions of the Lutheran Church. The loyal adherents of the historical faith of the Augsburg Confession were denounced as "resurrectionists of elemental, undeveloped, halting, stumbling, and staggering humanity," as priests, ready "to immolate bright meridian splendor on the altar of misty, murky dust," men bent on going backward, and consequently, of necessity, going downward! The same utter lack of a truly historical insight into the life of the Church, which is revealed in the abstract logic and the visionary air castles of Dr. S. S. Schmucker, shows itself in a cruder and balder form in the tirades of Dr. B. Kurtz, of which just one illustration will satisfy the reader. In an editorial of November 23, 1849, he says:

"The Fathers—who are the 'Fathers'? They are the *children;* they lived in the *infancy* of the Church, in the early dawn of the Gospel day. John the Baptist was the greatest among the prophets, and yet he that was least in the Kingdom of God, in the Christian Church was greater than he. He probably knew less, and that little less distinctly than a Sunday-school child, ten years of age, in the present day. Even the apostle Peter, after all the personal instructions of Christ, could not expand his views sufficiently to learn that the Gospel was to be preached to the Gentiles, and that the Church of Christ was to compass the whole world. A special miracle was wrought to remove his prejudices and convince him of his folly. Every well-instructed Sunday-school child understands this thing without a miracle, better than Peter did. Who, then, are 'the Fathers'? They have be-

come the Children; they *were* the Fathers compared with those who lived in the infancy of the Jewish dispensation; but, compared with the present and advanced age, they are the Children, and the learned and pious of the nineteenth century are the Fathers. We are *three hundred years older* than Luther and his noble coadjutors, and *eighteen hundred years older* than the primitives; theirs was the age of infancy and adolescence, and ours that of full-grown adult manhood. *They* were the *children; we* are the *fathers;* the tables are turned."

Necessity of a Standard of American Lutheranism.

Gradually, however, the great principle of the General Synod of agreeing to disagree, and "not to settle disputed points, but to omit them and declare them free," was found to be rather unsafe. Dr. Schmucker himself more and more came to the conclusion that some standard of confession ought to be found which should clearly and fully express the doctrinal basis of the General Synod, and to which all its members could be bound. In an article on "Church Development on Apostolic Principles" (*Evangelical Review*, Vol. II., p. 179) he says:

Is it desirable to give greater definiteness to the qualified acknowledgment of the Augsburg Confession, prescribed by the General Synod, and, if so, how can it best be accomplished? Two methods have been proposed deserving of serious consideration. It has been suggested that normative authority might be given to the Augsburg Confession as a whole; that those who can conscientiously do so might subscribe to it unconditionally, whilst all others should be at liberty to specify as excepted, any points to which they could not assent. Among these the following were specified: (1) The power of the sacraments, including the doctrines of bap-

tismal regeneration and of the real or bodily presence. (2) Our relation to the first man, Adam, and the manner in which we became involved in his sin. (3) The *Communicatio idiomatum.* The other method of giving more definiteness to the pledge of the General Synod is that of the Maryland Synod, to enumerate the doctrines and aspects of doctrine which we regard as fundamental, and on which we adopt the statements of the Augsburg Confession as normative, thus making that Confession absolutely binding on all these enumerated points. This method, on the whole, appears to us decidedly the best. It is clear, definite, and positive, and we feel confident it will cover the real doctrinal position of every member of the General Synod. As it also allows all the doctrinal views of the old Lutheran party, it is truly catholic and tolerant. It presents no difficulty except to those who are not tolerant themselves; and, if these find any impediment in attempting to enter the General Synod, it is so much the better for the peace and prosperity of our Zion.

It was particularly the influence of Dr. S. Sprecher, his brother-in-law, and another prominent leader in the General Synod, which brought Dr. S. S. Schmucker to see the disadvantage at which the New-School men were, over against the conservative Lutherans, who held a clearly defined position and were strong and harmonious on the firm ground of the old Lutheran Confessions. Again and again did he urge the necessity of making a bold and honest statement setting forth the exact tenets of American Lutheranism. "It is not to be denied," he said (1853), "that we have departed from the doctrines and customs of our Church in many respects. This we have done in the exercise of an undoubted right, and, I think, under the guidance of divine truth; but our position has never been explicitly enough defined. And

as long as we do not adopt and publish some standard of American Lutheranism more definite than that of the General Synod, we will be in danger of leaving the minds of our rising ministry perplexed, and, from time to time, induced to attempt to believe doctrines and maintain customs condemned alike by the sacred Scriptures and the experience of Protestant Christianity. I hope that this unhappy condition of the Church will not continue long, and that the churches of the General Synod will do as the churches of the Augsburg Confession did in 1580—exercise their right to declare what they regard as the doctrines of the sacred Scriptures in regard to all the points in dispute in the Church. I do not believe that the present position of the General Synod can long be maintained; it will either result in the old Lutheran men and synods gaining the control of the General Synod, and re-introducing those doctrines and practices of the symbols which the churches in this country and everywhere ought to abandon and condemn, and *say that they do;* or the friends of the American Lutheran Church must define what doctrines they do hold, and what they do reject, and refuse to fraternize with, and to make themselves responsible for, and to give their influence as a church in favor of, men and doctrines and practices which they hold to be anti-Scriptural and injurious to the spiritual Kingdom of Christ. I do not see how we can do otherwise than adopt the Symbols of the Church, or form a new symbol which shall embrace all that is fundamental to Christianity in them, rejecting what is unscriptural, and supplying what is defective. *A creed we must have*, or we can have no real church union, and *we must have a catechism* which shall be a standard in the catechetical instruction of our children, in which there shall be no doctrines which we do not want our children to believe, and which shall, notwithstanding, be thoroughly orthodox, so that our children may be made strong in the faith of the Gospel, in these times of doctrinal looseness and confusion. As long as

the General Synod regards with equal favor, and is ready to receive, the old Lutheran as well as the American Lutheran Synods, the symbolical men have a vast advantage, and they, no doubt, regard it as a triumph when the General Synod, meeting after meeting, continues to hold out its arms to every Lutheran Synod, and recommends as heartily the reviews and institutions which are laboring to upturn its present foundations, as it does those which are known to hold the sentiments which it has hitherto fostered."

Sincere and logical as these utterances were, there was, for a long time, much hesitation on the part of the American Lutherans to carry out these propositions, and thereby to precipitate a crisis and cause a division which would inevitably result from the attempt to fasten an "American Lutheran Creed" upon the General Synod. From one convention to another the two sides came together, expecting the clash of arms and the decisive battle. But convention after convention came and passed without a decision. The conservatives, having no organ except, in part, the *Evangelical Review*, a quarterly edited by Professor William M. Reynolds and Dr. Charles Philip Krauth, and no influence on the theological training of the rising generation of pastors, besides being in the minority, had to be satisfied with this forced armistice. They were, for the time, content to be tolerated. They hoped against hope that truth might win its way without violent conflict, being convinced that the Lutheran Church needed no new confession in this new world; that the old standard was the true one, around which all ought to rally, and that, to give up that standard or to modify it in any part, was to surrender the historical title and position of the Lutheran Church. The

true mind of these brethren is shown in a letter of Rev. Dr. H. I. Schmidt to Charles Porterfield Krauth, dated New York, February 4, 1853, from which we give the following short extract:

My opinion has all along been, and both your father and Professor Reynolds entirely concur in it, that we Lutherans had better keep perfectly quiet at the next General Synod, and say nothing at all about "Doctrinal Basis" and the various matters that are now dividing and agitating the Church. Any move of an aggressive nature could, I think, do nothing but harm and only widen the breach. If all open conflict is avoided, our cause, I mean the cause of truth and of the Church, will continue silently and surely to gain ground, and thus the character of the General Synod will gradually, in the regular course of things, be changed and righted, in that the materials that compose it are made right."

The Return of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania to the General Synod.

During the thirty years of separation there had been in the main, as stated before, a friendly relation between the members of the General Synod and those of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. On several occasions approaches were made by prominent men of the General Synod toward the restoration of the union. Thus, in June, 1835, a paper, signed by Charles Philip Krauth, William M. Reynolds, S. S. Schmucker, E. Keller, J. G. Morris. J. G. Schmucker, B. Kurtz, and others, urged the Pennsylvania Synod to return to the General Synod, and undertook to remove certain prejudices and misapprehensions concerning the authority and the spirit of that body. A few years afterward the General Synod

adopted the German liturgy of the Pennsylvania Synod for its German churches, and appointed a committee to prepare an English liturgy on the basis of this work. (Baltimore, 1842.) But the Ministerium of Pennsylvania remained alone and even took the first steps toward the establishment of a separate theological seminary, with Dr. Demme as professor. But when the latter had declined the appointment, the Synod of Pennsylvania, through the influence of Dr. S. S. Schmucker, who took part in the discussions at Easton (1848), entered into negotiations with the board of directors of the seminary in Gettysburg, looking toward the support of a German professor in that institution, and afterward to the endowment of a professorship in Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg. And these measures prepared the way for the statement in the president's report to the Pennsylvania Ministerium in 1852: "As we are now, by the German professorship and the Franklin College professorship so closely connected with Pennsylvania College, I would ask this Ministerium to consider whether it would not be better for us and the cause of the Church, if this body would resume its connection with the General Synod, so that we may also participate in the management of the college and of other institutions of the Church." The final decision of this important question was postponed for a year, but the Synod of Ohio and Tennessee, and even that of Missouri, and others not yet in connection with the General Synod, were to be invited to join in the union movement and, if possible, to appoint delegates to the General Synod.

In the following year the Ministerium, by a vote of fifty-two against twenty-eight, resolved to return to the General Synod. The principal points of this important action were as follows:

"*Whereas*, the union of all parts of the Evangelical Lutheran Church is highly desirable; and whereas, this Synod is deeply sensible of the duty, not only 'to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,' but also to co-operate with our brethren of the household of faith in the promotion of every good work, for the general welfare of all parts of the entire Church; therefore, *Resolved*, 1. That this Synod renew again its active connection with the so-called 'Evangelical Lutheran General Synod of the United States of North America,' approving of the principles laid down in its constitution for the government of the several Evangelical Lutheran Synods of which it is composed, and in regard to their relation to each other and their mutual active operations. 2. That this Synod regards the General Synod simply as an association of Evangelical Lutheran Synods, entertaining the same views of the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, as these are expressed in the Confessional writings of our Evangelical Lutheran Church, and especially in the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, and that we advert to the fact, that the General Synod is denied the right, by its Constitution, of making any innovations or alterations of this faith. See Art. III, Sec. 2, where it is said: 'But no General Synod can be allowed to possess or to arrogate to itself the power . . . to introduce such alterations in matters of faith . . . as might, in any way, tend to burden the consciences of the brethren in Christ.' 4. That we neither intend nor ever expect that the principles which have hitherto governed our Synod in respect to Church-doctrine and Church-life shall suffer any change whatever, by our connection with the General Synod; but that, should the General Synod violate its constitution, and require of our Synod, or of any Synod, as a condition of admission or of continuation of membership, assent to anything conflicting with the old and long established faith of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, then our delegates are hereby required to protest against such action, to withdraw from its ses-

sions, and to report to this body." (See Dr. G. F. Krotel's Articles in the *Lutheran and Missionary*, November 9-23, 1865.)

The next Convention of the General Synod was held in Winchester, Va., in the congregation of Charles Porterfield Krauth. But he was absent during the meeting, being on his way home from the West Indies. Of his warm interest in this convention and his desire to have Dr. H. I. Schmidt, of New York, elected president, "as an irenical act on the part of the majority," we have heard before in his letters from Santa Cruz. (See p. 260.) Most cordially were the delegates of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania received by the General Synod, and requested to hand in their credentials before the body proceeded to the election of officers. At the same time three other Synods were admitted for the first time, viz.: The Pittsburg Synod, Texas Synod, and the Synod of Northern Illinois. In looking over the resolutions of the Pennsylvania Synod, resuming the connection with the General Synod, we are strongly impressed with the striking contrast between their manliness, dignity, and decision, and the weakly sentimentality and lack of resolution displayed in the action of 1823, by which the union was dissolved. It was evident that a strong re-inforcement of the conservative Lutheran side had entered the camp of the General Synod, and we can easily understand the anxiety and uneasiness with which the New School element realized this fact. For a time, preceding the meeting in Winchester, the leaders had seriously thought of forcing "the great question" upon the body, for final decision. Different "plans" were considered and rejected, and nothing was done. "I fear," said Dr. Sprecher, five months before the convention in Win-

chester, " there will be divisions, no matter what course is taken. As to the hope of gaining over the Symbolic Lutherans, I consider it altogether delusive. If they ever join the General Synod, it will be with the hope of controlling it eventually into their own views, and for their own purposes." But outwardly everything was peace and prosperity, and any one listening to the opening discourse at Winchester preached by the retiring president, Dr. S. S. Schmucker, would be assured that the General Synod never had a brighter future before it than at that time. The subject of the sermon (afterward published by request) was " The peace of Zion," based on Acts ix. 31., which was deemed peculiarly appropriate, " as our beloved Zion has of late years been somewhat agitated by numerous, and, we doubt not, well meant efforts, to disturb the liberal and apostolic doctrinal basis of the General Synod, and it was feared the present meeting might reflect these dissensions."

" The late meeting of the General Synod," continues the preface, " was distinguished by several interesting features. In the first place, it was a most peaceable, harmonious, and fraternal one. Doubtless the comparison of views which had taken place in the *Lutheran Observer* and other papers of our Church, had favored this result, by convincing the brethren of the non-essential nature of our differences; whilst the liberal and enlightened stand taken by the Pennsylvania Synod, in her adhering resolutions in favor of the unaltered Constitution of the General Synod, had no little influence in calming the apprehensions of some who feared an attempt to change it.

" Another feature was the return of our brethren of the Pennsylvania Synod, after a separation of thirty years. They had been prominent in the original formation of the General Synod, in 1819 and 1820, and had attended one regular meeting, in 1821; but then, on account of

some popular misapprehension and clamor in their churches, seceded from us in the spring of 1823. In the meantime some of their individual ministers and churches had co-operated actively in the enterprises of the General Synod. Of late years this sympathy had become almost general, and the way had been prepared by a kind Providence, for their formal return to our midst. It was a subject of special congratulation that they returned after a synodical expression of satisfaction with the Constitution of the General Synod, and of a firm determination to maintain it inviolate."

The second part of the sermon deals with the question: "How can the peace (of the Church) be best secured and preserved?" The answer is: 1. Let us place in the foreground, in our stated ministrations, the points in which we agree, the cardinal doctrines of the Reformation, the points of agreement between the different creeds of the sixteenth century; 2. By exercising a scriptural charity or forbearance toward each other on points of non-essential difference. Uniformity in fundamentals, and charity or liberty in non-fundamentals.

This outward peace remained undisturbed also at the convention of 1855 in Dayton, O., the first held West of the Alleghanies. But the storm of the approaching crisis was gathering. Those that were undeceived by outward appearances saw it coming and raised their voices of warning. Dr. W. J. Mann, who attended the meeting in Dayton, in his "Blätter aus dem Wanderbuche" ("*Deutsch. Kirchenfreund,*" viii., p. 386 ff.) in giving a short review of the development of the General Synod, writes as follows:

"Gradually a desire manifested itself to gain popularity for the Lutheran Church in this country. The hard dogmatical knots of the old Lutheran oak were to give way under the Puritan plane. The body was beprived of its bones and its heart, and the empty skin

might be filled with whatever was most pleasing, if only the Lutheran name was retained! The statement of the seventh Article of the Augsburg Confession, that "unto the true unity of the Church it is not necessary that human traditions, rites, or ceremonies instituted by men, should be everywhere alike," was most extensively used, and in the desire to make the Lutheran Church as much as possible like others, her leaders were much more ready to adopt foreign elements than to retain her own distinctive features. Thus the Liturgy, the ancient lessons of Gospels and Epistles, the festivals of the Church Year, the gown and other usages were given up, in order that as little as possible might be seen of these Lutheran peculiarities. Hoping to gain others they lost themselves. The Lutheran Church had given away her own spirit, her own original life and character. If only the General Synod of the Lutheran Church would understand this present time, if it would not resist the churchly current which is making itself felt, if it would raise its voice in the spirit of true Lutheranism, and lay down principles, by which it would confess itself as truly Lutheran, without ignoring or destroying the characteristic features of Lutheranism, it would have a much greater moral weight and could become a centre of strong and far-reaching influence. To give expression to certain general Christian principles, may be sufficient as a confession of adherence to Christianity in general, but it is far from satisfactory where the connection with a distinct historical Church is at stake."

A similar warning had been raised against the prevailing spirit of doctrinal indifference and laxity, several years before, by Dr. G. A. Lintner, Schoharie, N. Y. In an article entitled "Ecclesiastical Standards" (*Evangelical Review*, April, 1851), he said:

"The question is not whether we have a Confession of Faith, but whether we shall adhere to and maintain it,

against the attempts that have been made, and are still making, to repudiate and set it aside. As we look on the progress of our Church in this country, and the developments connected with it, we feel more convinced every day that, if we would avoid the dangers which threaten us, and accomplish the good we desire, we must faithfully adhere to our ecclesiastical standards.

There is an influence at work which seeks to obliterate every distinctive feature in our ecclesiastical system, an influence which seems determined upon subverting the old foundation on which our fathers rested, and forming a new basis, sufficiently wide to embrace all the loose and discordant materials that can be gathered under this new system. And this is the system that is to be put in the place of that consistent and well-ordered system established in the days of the Reformation, and which God has so signally blessed and prospered. Men have advanced so far in the 'Spirit of the Age,' that they can no longer be benefited by the knowledge and experience of past ages. They have grown so much wiser than their fathers, that they can furnish us with erudite articles on the antiquated errors of 'Patristic Theology.' And when we hear them discoursing on the 'advances in science, and the varied developments' which have turned the fathers of the Reformation into children in our day, we are almost disposed to ask, whence cometh all this wisdom, which has raised our modern theologians so far above the fathers, that now they can 'stand on their shoulders'? Surely, this age must have taken rapid strides in 'Church development,' if we are prepared for such an elevated position."

The Definite Platform.

After many years of continued agitation, the principal leaders of "American Lutheranism" at last issued their manifesto. The men who had constantly complained of the multitude and "mass" of Lutheran symbols, quietly

attempted to add another one to their "unbearably large" number, without unmaking one of the existing historical standards. The men who had complained of the intolerance of those who limited the name of Lutherans to the loyal adherents of the historical Confessions of the Mother Church of the Reformation, undertook to un-lutheranize all those who were unwilling to join them in their mutilation of the Augsburg Confession. And worst of all, the men who prided themselves on their liberal, enlightened, honestly progressive standpoint, hesitated to come out manfully and openly, as the authors of what claimed to be the most important document for the American Lutheran Church. The new Confession came without a confessor. It appeared as an anonymous document, proving by that very fact that the men who concocted it were not called by God to lead the Church on this Western Continent to a better, fuller, purer conception and statement of the faith of the Gospel, than that of the Fathers.

In the early part of September, 1855, most of the leading ministers connected with the General Synod received, by mail, a small pamphlet of some forty pages, printed in Philadelphia, and bearing the title: "Definite Platform, doctrinal and disciplinarian, for Evangelical Lutheran District Synods; constructed in accordance with the principles of the General Synod." Concerning the authorship of this pamphlet, Dr. S. S. Schmucker, ten years after its appearance, wrote as follows: "Although my friend, Dr. Kurtz, and myself passed it in review together, and changed a few words, every sentence of the work I acknowledge to have been written by myself. None of our Western brethren had an opportunity to participate in its composition, although they had aided in determining its principles. And although the

subject was mentioned to a few in the East, none but the afore-named two at all participated in the actual work." (See *Lutheran and Missionary*, May 10, 1866.) It was prepared and published, according to its preface, by consultation and co-operation of ministers of different Eastern and Western Synods connected with the General Synod, at the special request of some Western Brethren, whose churches desire *a more specific expression of the General Synod's doctrinal basis*, being surrounded by German churches which profess the entire mass of former symbols. This "American Recension of the Augsburg Confession," which coolly undertook to alter and set aside that venerable document, the Magna Charta of Protestantism, asked for itself exemption from any future alteration or amendment, naively demanding that, "for the sake of uniformity, any Synod adopting this Platform should receive it entire, without alteration." Never mind breaking the Augustana to pieces, only let the Definite Platform be *unaltered* in sæcula sæculorum! The Platform charged the Augsburg Confession with the following errors, omitted in this American recension: 1. The approval of the ceremonies of the Mass. 2. Private Confession and Absolution. 3. Denial of the divine obligation of the Christian Sabbath. 4. Baptismal regeneration. 5. The Real Presence of the Body and Blood of the Saviour in the Eucharist. Besides this direct charge of grave errors on the Augsburg Confession, and the open rejection of the Lutheran doctrines of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, in the Apostle's Creed, the Descensus ad Inferos is omitted, and in the Augustana the following articles are changed or mutilated: Articles I., II., V., VIII., IX., X., XI. (entirely omitted), XII., XVI., XVII., XVIII., XXI.; that is, twelve of the twenty-one doctrinal articles of the

Confession. The seven Articles on Abuses (XXII. to XXVIII.) are all omitted.

The reception with which this document met throughout the Church was, no doubt, a great disappointment to its author or authors. Of course there were some who were delighted with it, and a few Synods in the West even ventured to place themselves upon this Platform.

"It is the very thing we have long needed in our Church," said one of the prominent Western leaders of American Lutheranism; "it will require every man to declare that he is for or against us, and will secure our American Lutheran Church against the insidious efforts of the Old Lutherans to remodel her. A great many of those who have been leaning toward Old Lutheranism will, when the test is applied, go heartily with the Platform, and those who do not, will be obliged to let themselves be known to the people in their true theological character. And this is all we can desire. Our Church will prosper when thus fully known, no matter how much she may lose from the number of her past apparent adherents." And, urging the adoption of the Platform also on the Eastern Synods, the same writer said: "If the New School brethren do not soon decide whether they will give the Church the positive form which it must take in this country ere long, the Old School will decide it for them by making all their Synods stand on the Unaltered Confession. I do not see what difficulty can be in the way. If those five dogmas rejected are errors at all they are very serious errors, and I do not see why there should be so great a desire to be associated with those who teach them. The difference between the Old School and the New School party is of such a nature that they cannot agree except by being silent, or separate. If we did not intend to push this matter through we should never have agitated it at all."

But the principal effect of the Definite Platform was to open the eyes even of the indifferent and undecided ones, and to cause them to reflect and to realize the ultimate designs of the men at the helm of the General Synod. A storm of indignation burst against the perpetrators of this attack on the venerable Augustana. Many men who were before numbered with "American Lutheranism," and whose full sympathy with the movement was confidently expected, had nothing but stern rebuke for it. The *Evangelical Review* condemned it in a short but strong article. "We trust," it says, "that no Lutheran Synod will be beguiled into the awful movement here so abruptly yet so confidently proposed to them—to revolutionize their whole previous history, and declare separation from the whole Lutheran Church of the past, and all their brethren in the present who hold to the faith of the fathers, 'the faith once delivered to the saints.'"

The severest blow, however, was the formal rejection of the Platform by the East Pennsylvania Synod, in its meeting at Lebanon, 1855. At the motion of Rev. Dr. J. A. Brown, it was resolved, "that we hereby express our most unqualified disapprobation of this most dangerous attempt to change the doctrinal basis and revolutionize the existing character of the Lutheran Churches now united in the General Synod, and that we hereby most solemnly warn our sister Synods against this dangerous proposition," etc. Well might the friends and patrons of the Platform be "amazed" at the action of the East Pennsylvania Synod. "Was there nobody there," asks one of them, "to offer it to the Synod, that it was taken up in the way it was, as an anonymous pamphlet, for which nobody was willing to be responsible? Where were those brethren of the different East-

ern Synods that were consulted, and who assisted in framing the Platform? I took it for granted that it would not come before our Synods in that anonymous way without its being introduced by some brother who would at once be responsible for it, and who would explain its history and objects. I am amazed that there was not only nobody to do this, but nobody to vote against such resolutions of unqualified condemnation as those."

The strongest refutation of the Definite Platform was written by the Rev. Wm. J. Mann, D.D. It was entitled "A Plea for the Augsburg Confession, in Answer to the Objections of the Definite Platform: An Address to All Ministers and Laymen of the Evangelical Church of the United States, by W. J. Mann, pastor of St. Michael's and Zion's Churches, Philadelphia. 'The truth shall make you free.'—Jesus Christ. For the Lutheran Board of Publication. Philadelphia. Lindsay & Blackiston, 1856." The history of the origin of this little pamphlet of forty-seven pages is thus related by a member of the Publication Board itself:

"One day, during a friendly colloquium, the conversation turned on the Definite Synodical Platform. This document had come to us anonymously, bearing no visible sign nor mark to indicate its origin. Not to converse about a document so shrouded in mystery would be stranger than the document itself. At this fraternal colloquium, Rev. Mr. Mann expressed his views on the Augsburg Confession. At the close of his remarks one of the Board, Rev. Mr. Hutter (Pastor of St. Matthew's English Lutheran Church, Philadelphia), remarked: 'What a pity we had not a stenographer in our midst, to take down the remarks of Brother Mann.' Following up this merely incidental remark, Rev. Dr. Stork moved that Brother Mann be requested to write out and submit

to the Board his remarks, which was agreed to. One week later, Rev. Mann brought the manuscript sheets of his little volume; they were read, and that brother himself proposed to issue the work on his own responsibility, without the imprint of the Board. From some of the views asserted by the writer several of the Board openly dissented, and, to avoid their objections, a portion of the work was rewritten by the author. It was only then ordered to be printed."

The subsequent refusal of the Board to publish Professor S. S. Schmucker's reply to this plea, of course, brought upon them the indignation of the author of the Platform. But the Board had very good reason for its refusal.

In order to allay the storm which had been raised by the publication of the Platform, and to put an end to the war of pens, the so-called "Pacific Overture" was published in the *Lutheran Observer*, February 29, 1856, in which a number of prominent ministers "deprecate the further prosecution of this controversy, and hereby agree to unite and abide on the doctrinal basis of the General Synod, of absolute assent to the "Word of God, as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and fundamental agreement with the Augsburg Confession," etc. H. L. Baugher, M. Jacobs, M. L. Stoever, F. A. Mühlenberg, Charles Philip Krauth were the men with whom this document originated. To these were added the names of E. W. Hutter, T. Stork, C. A. Hay, W. H. Lochmann, M. Valentine, B. Sadtler, J. A. Brown, and others. Dr. S. S. Schmucker, in a special card, gave his signature to it, but while he admitted that "its pledge involved the obligation of abstinence from the newspaper controversy," he reserved to himself the right of continuing the controversy by writing a reply to Dr. Mann's Plea. No

wonder that the "Pacific Overture" did not end the war, and many of the best and most conscientious men in the Church refused to sign it.

Dr. H. I. Schmidt, in a letter to his friend Dr. Charles Philip Krauth, dated New York, February 27, 1856, very decidedly expressed his mind on this subject, as follows:

I was very sorry to perceive that you and the other brethren at Gettysburg have been induced to sign the "Pacific Overture." I presume but very few will follow your example: the brethren at Philadelphia, at Easton, and at Allentown have refused. Not a soul here in New York is willing to touch it. I can very well see why you would be inclined to favor such a move, for I know your love of peace. But I can see no use in signing that overture: the compromise which it proposes cannot preserve the peace of the Church or prevent a disruption. S. has got up that overture simply because he was utterly disappointed in the effect produced by his proposed platform: because he saw that he had raised a conflagration that was very likely to burn him up. And now, after doing all he could to disrupt the Church, after getting up a platform, the adoption of which would have expelled all of us confessional Lutherans from the Lutheran Church: after laboring with all his might to fasten the charge of serious errors upon our venerable Confession, he very coolly comes forward and asks us to sign a compromise, in which, forsooth, we are to declare the points of difference between us to be non-essential; . . . No, indeed. Those points are not non-essential: the Lutheran doctrine of the Sacraments is so completely interwoven with our whole view of the scheme of redemption and salvation; that concerning the Eucharist grows so directly and necessarily out of the great doctrine of Christ's Person, that for me to give up those doctrinal points alleged to be non-essential, is to give up all, to give up the whole Gospel. And what good would come

of patching up such a hollow peace? At the first favorable opportunity S. would break it, and even if he seemed to keep quiet, he would be secretly and incessantly working and machinating against our side of the house.

And, what is more, the editor of the *Observer* refuses to sign the overture: he will keep his hands unfettered, to knock us on the head right and left, as soon and as often as he pleases.

Why, indeed, should *we* sign any compromise at all? *We* did not attack the General Synod's basis, or, so far as concerns our connection with the General Synod, either design or propose to abandon or renounce it: why then should we offer to return to it? The Platformists have shoved us off from that basis, as members of the General Synod, and now, as Lutherans, I don't think we shall return to it and declare that we are contending for non-essentials.

Attitude of the Two Krauths Toward This Controversy.

Having now followed the history of the General Synod up to this critical period, it is time that we return to the real subject of this biography, and show his relation to these agitating questions up to the time when he left Pittsburg. But before we describe the position of Charles Porterfield Krauth we will first devote a few pages to his father, Dr. Charles Philip Krauth, who was all through this controversy the colleague of Dr. S. S. Schmucker in the Theological Seminary, and was again and again claimed by either side as an advocate of their views. However gentle and irenical his natural disposition was, it is a remarkable fact, that during these years, both in his private letters and in his public utterances, he showed a more decided antagonism against American Lutheranism than his son did during the same period. As far back as 1850 he "gave offence to some, because

he assumed a higher ground than was usually maintained" in his remarkable discourse, preached before the General Synod in Charleston, S. C., which was hailed by the conservative Lutherans in Germany as the dawn of a new day for the Church in this country, and which may be said to have mapped out the lifework which Providence had assigned to his illustrious son.

"The Lutheran Church in this country," he said in that address (see *Evangelical Review*, Vol. II., July, 1850), "traces its origin to the Lutheran Church in Germany. Coëval with the Reformation, and established upon the doctrinal system of Luther, as expressed in the Augsburg Confession, its Apology, the Smalcald Articles, and the Catechisms of Luther, as developed and explained in the Formula Concordiæ, its history has been rendered illustrious by great intellectual and moral achievements. Unfolding its banner in this Western hemisphere, it marshalled its soldiers to no other service, and aimed by no new weapons to accomplish its victories." But speaking of the present condition of the Lutheran Church in America, he continues: she is in a state of reaction. She has passed, in some parts, through an extreme subjectivity, an extreme leaning to the emotional in religion; she permitted herself, to some extent, to be carried away by the surges of animal feeling, and lost much of her ancient propriety. She is now retracing her steps, acknowledging her error, seeking release from crude views and objectionable measures. She is hunting amongst the records of the past for the faith of former days, and endeavoring to learn what she was in her earliest form. The desire for the symbols of our Church, the attention that is paid to them, the admiration that has been expressed of them, the candor with which they are viewed, the expressed willingness on the part of many, only to dissent when it cannot be avoided, all indicate a new state of things—and are adapted to produce the conviction that the Church is disposed to

renew her connection with the past, and in her future progress to walk under the guidance of the light which it has furnished. There is no fear of any doctrine which our symbols contain, no unwillingness to give it a fair examination, and a predisposition, rather than the contrary, to receive and assent. If these statements are correct, it certainly shows a remarkable state of things in our Lutheran Zion, it must awaken the enquiry, whither do these things tend, and what will be the issue? How we should demean ourselves under existing circumstances, what part we should perform in this great movement, are important enquiries, and bring us to that division of our subject in which we propose to treat of the duties which are obligatory upon us as a Church, in the condition in which we find ourselves, in the providence of God.

It is our duty, we think, holding fast what we have, abandoning no ground that we fairly occupy, to aim at union in view and harmony of action. The points in which we agree are so numerous—our predilections as theologians are so much alike, our principles are so uniform, that it does not appear improbable that we may be brought to as perfect a coincidence as can be expected of humanity; and in the way of harmony of action, we can perceive no impediment. Those views, to which we have referred as peculiar to one class of Lutherans, the views about the Lord's Supper and the person of the Redeemer, so strenuously asserted by the Lutheran Fathers, men of great ability, profound students of the Word of God, and holy men too—asserted in view of as powerful objections, and as powerfully wielded as can well be conceived, revived so extensively abroad, and amongst the best men and the ablest divines of our Church—ought not to be considered as absolutely incredible by us, but rather we should give them a candid examination, try the arguments by which they are supported, test the modifications with which they are reasserted, and then, and only then, determine where truth

lies. We are satisfied that we have had an imperfect understanding of these opinions, have examined too carelessly, or not at all, the grounds of them, have caught too readily at the perverted views of their opponents, and have too hastily identified them with doctrines from which they differ very widely. It is due to our Church, it is due to our symbols, it is due to our brethren, that we should pursue this course. It is due, too, to the memory of our Fathers, if we do dissent from them, that we should nevertheless be able to vindicate them from those objections which are based upon a one-sided and very inadequate understanding of what they taught.

To bring about the state of things which we desire, it is obviously the duty of those on the opposite side to remember, that their doctrines were not universally received, that even amongst those who fought under the same banner there was occasionally a dissenting voice, that the great Melanchthon himself gradually departed from the doctrine of the presence, as held by his most celebrated coadjutor, and that death alone prevented his expression of that view of Christ's presence, which has been ascribed to Calvin—not a real spiritual presence, but, as it has been called by the Mercersburg school of theology, in our country, which has promulgated it as the ancient faith of the German Reformed Church—"a spiritual real presence." The controversies in the Church on the subject of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, the fact that even in the Romish Church, during the middle ages, able men appeared against the settled opinion, should teach us moderation, induce us to bear with those who may differ from us, lead us to believe that uniformity of faith is not unattended with difficulty, to feel persuaded that though there may be a difference in explanation, all realize the same results, because all true Christians display the same character, and to be persuaded that, if we have so much the superiority in argument over our opponents, they will not hold out long against us.

We are satisfied that, if primitive Lutheranism is to make progress in this country, it will at first be amongst Lutherans; if converts to the doctrine of the real presence are to be made, they will not soon be derived from any other quarter. In them we will have an unprejudiced auditory, men who will hear our proofs, who will calmly weigh them, and will give their acquiescence, if they believe it right. In the meantime, let us cultivate peace and harmony, let us endeavor to act together, let us be united and seek to do each other good. Let us aim to diffuse a spirit of harmony, concord, and peace amongst our people, and the God of peace will bless us.

It is our duty to avoid controversy of a bitter, alienating character. We do not object to controversy, but to such as tends to alienate and embitter feeling. Contend should we for the faith, but in a meek and gentle spirit. Treating our opponents with fairness, seeking to do full justice to their views, we should abstain from all reproachful epithets, and endeavor by honest arguments to vindicate our position. We are to contend for truth, not for victory; for the glory of God, not our own. We are to aim to persuade men, not to compel them. It is said that the truth is mighty, and will prevail; we believe both: it is mighty and it will prevail. With an ardent love of it, with a sincere desire to propagate it, we should make it our constant employment to bring it before those to whom we have access. If we are to be members of the same Christian household, if we would dwell comfortably together, it will be necessary to avoid all heated strife, and all condemnatory language.

We entertain no doubt that the utmost good will is cherished by that part of the Church which has least of the Lutheran element, toward that which has most. They have no desire that they should be alienated, that they should stand aloof, that they should not be regarded and treated in the fullest sense as brethren. They would have them partake in the operations in which all can participate, and be associated in every organization

designed for concentrated action. They claim reciprocity in the feelings and actions of the others. They ask that both may grow together till the harvest. They believe that it will be best for all. They are persuaded that it will tend to the glory of the ascended Redeemer, to the welfare of His Church, to the best interests of the German population of our country, and therefore do they urge that One should be regarded as our Master, even Christ, and that we should look upon ourselves as brethren.

Another duty, we think, is to use the great symbol of the Church, the Augsburg Confession, allowing such latitude in the subscription as is compatible with harmony. We believe that there has been too much looseness in our Church in regard to the necessity and utility of creeds in general. The change from the original ground occupied by the Church, the disuse of the symbols, the latitudinarianism about them, were calculated to be productive of much evil. That this has not occurred may be said to be happy for the Church. We believe that the evils to be dreaded from the neglect of the symbols have not followed in a very great degree, yet they have in some. That orthodoxy which we retain, strongly tinctured as it is with Lutheranism, has various phases, never running, perhaps, into Calvinism on the one hand, or Pelagianism on the other, but sometimes passing almost into the region of the one, and at others hardly steering clear of the other.

Now, we suppose that this requires a remedy, and we can suggest no other, in the present state of our Church, than the use of the Augsburg Confession as a creed, and requiring the subscription of it, within certain limits, by every minister of Jesus Christ who serves at our altars. It may be said that it has been used, that it has received the sanction of the General Synod of our Church, and that it is subscribed by the ministers of those synods which are connected with the General Synod. This is true; but we object to the liberty allowed in that

subscription. Thus far it has been without serious injury, but it is liable to very great abuse. The terms of the subscription are such as to admit of the rejection of any doctrine or doctrines which the subscriber may not receive. It is subscribed or assented to, as containing the doctrines of the Word of God substantially; they are set forth in substance; the understanding is that there are some doctrines in it not contained in the Word of God, but there is no specification concerning them. Everyone could omit from his assent whatever he did not believe. The subscription did not preclude this. It is at once evident that a creed thus presented is no creed; that it is anything or nothing; that its subscription is a solemn farce. It is true that the views of subscribers were ascertained in advance of their subscription, and the dangers were avoided which otherwise might have ensued; but then they were ascertained under no circumstances of special solemnity, under none that bind the conscience as does an oath of subscription to a creed, and consequently nothing was gained; or, if there was a previous conviction as to the soundness of the candidate, the subscription was superseded as entirely supererogatory. To set aside this great, this venerated symbol, would meet with no favor in the Church; an *ex animo* subscription is not possible to all. What, then, is to be done? We insist upon a creed; we consider it a *sine qua non;* the Church cannot operate harmoniously, efficiently without it; the only course that we can devise is to give it normative authority. It may be subscribed *ex animo* by all who can do so; it may be subscribed by others with the privilege of dissenting from certain doctrines, which shall be stated or specified. The doctrines from which there may be dissent cannot be any that are essential to the orthodox system—cannot be any which, if received and rejected in the same Church, would tend to confusion. Different views may be allowed in regard to our relation to the first man, and the manner in which we became involved in his sin, but not in regard to the

sinfulness of man, original sin, and the necessity of regeneration. Different views may be entertained as respects the *Communicatio idiomatum* in the nature of Christ, but not in regard to those natures. Carefully must we exclude every form of Arianism, high and low, Socinianism and rationalism, and anti-trinitarianism of all kinds.

These are the conclusions to which we have come upon this subject; we confess its difficulty, and can only say to any or to all, If you have anything better, candidly impart it; if not, use this with us. It was a different course which led to the division of the Presbyterian Church in this country; it was in a position very much like our own, and we suppose that such a plan as we propose would have prevented a separation neither necessary nor profitable, but which may, in the end, be conducive to the glory of God.

It is our duty to exert a conservative influence. The true position of the Lutheran Church is conservative. It should hold fast the form of sound words which it has received, and display its doctrinal and ritual moderation. Occupying a middle position between prelatical Episcopacy and *jure divino congregationalism;* extreme neither in the one direction nor the other; conceding to utility all that it can ask without detriment to order; avoiding in doctrine the errors of Calvinism, and those of low Arminianism and Pelagianism; repudiating a mere animal religion whilst it shows no countenance to a morality cold and religionless—these, its true position, its very essence and form, adapt it to exert an influence favorable to doctrinal soundness and religious purity. We do not claim for it too much when we ascribe to it a capacity to uphold a true, living system of Christianity, when we regard it as adapted to exert an influence opposed to extremes in the one direction or the other. It might appear invidious to ascribe such a power to the Lutheran Church exclusively. This we do not do; but, at the same time, we think that in no other is there capac-

ity to do so much, and upon so extensive a scale. No other church occupies, we think, so nearly the central point between Roman Catholic and Protestant extremes. No other so central a point between the High-Churchism of Protestantism and the extremes of Protestantism, and therefore we suppose that no other can more fairly regard itself as summoned to act a conservative part—conservative not only by upholding a moderate orthodoxy in doctrine, ecclesiastical government and ceremonies, but by preventing extremes, either on the one hand subversive of human liberty, or on the other of the grace of God. It neither makes man independent of means or of God. It connects not his salvation with direct influences without means, nor does it grow out of means without the influences of God.

When the crisis culminated in the publication of the Definite Platform, Charles Philip Krauth made no secret of his aversion to this document. "The American Recension of the Augsburg Confession," he wrote to his son, "doesn't seem to go down well. It has received many hard blows. My colleague don't disclaim the authorship, so that it has a daddy. A more stupid thing could hardly have been originated, taking the standpoint of its projectors. *Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat.* How will it end? I have thought, in smoke. But I have all along had fears, and they are strengthened of late, that it will divide the General Synod. It is said that my colleague is determined to press the matter to the utmost. I suppose he thinks that he has drawn the sword, thrown away the scabbard, and now must fight. For myself I do not feel a particle of uneasiness, but I regret exceedingly the injury which the Church is sure to sustain. Mr. Passavant's idea of a paper in opposition to the *Observer* I approve. There ought to be an antidote to the *Observer* somewhere."

In an article published in the *Lutheran Observer* (February 15, 1856), he defines his position, as over against the Platform, as follows:

1. I opposed and oppose it, because it proposes an innovation in the doctrinal basis of our churches. 2. Because it was brought before the Church in an improper way. 3. Because it proscribes brethren of the highest standing, both in learning and piety, members of our Synods, who were received with the understanding that they were to occupy a position co-ordinate with that of others. It proclaims to them that, if they hold certain opinions, they ought to be excommunicated; that, if they hold others, they must regard them as of minor importance. It is equivalent to asking every symbolical Lutheran to withdraw or dishonor himself. 4. Because, if pressed, it must divide that part of the Church which is now united, and when division is commenced it will not be likely to exhaust itself in two parties. 5. Because church property and institutions of the united Church will fall into the hands of one party, and the other be deprived of its rights. 6. Because it will give rise to religious periodicals and institutions antagonistic to each other in the same territory, so that none will be properly sustained. 7. Because the Platform is not definite, as it proposes to be, but allows a larger liberty than the Augsburg Confession, and therefore tends to confusion. 8. Because it leaves unadjusted many important questions on which there is difference of opinion, and the adjustment of which will most probably cause further division. 9. Because it embodies various statements which present the doctrines of the symbols in a light which I regard as very far from the real nature of the case.

I feel deeply solicitous that our prospering Church may not be divided. I shall do all that I can to hold it together. I will pray for the peace of our Zion, and if what is deprecated shall come. I will neither partake in the glory nor the shame.

In the face of such clear and direct utterances, we do not wonder that Dr. S. S. Schmucker was bitterly disappointed in the expectation of gaining his colleague over to the New-School side. In a frank and pointed letter (April 1, 1858) he summed up all his grievances against Dr. Charles Philip Krauth on account of his alleged sympathy with Old-School Lutheranism. The principal points charged in this letter were: Dr. Krauth's sermon in Charleston, S. C., which gave great dissatisfaction to the New-School portion of the Church; his administration of the *Evangelical Review* in "vindication of the Symbolic System"; his participation in the preparation of an improved translation of the whole of the Symbolical Books (the Newmarket edition of the Henkels; see page 174); his opposition to the Definite Platform, "denouncing it more violently than most other opponents"; his "failure on any suitable occasion to express any public sympathy in behalf of the efforts of American Lutherans to resist the incessant assaults of the Old-School party, which must naturally have led hundreds of our ministers and intelligent laymen to infer that his sympathies were not with American Lutheranism."

And yet, with all this decided opposition to "American Lutheranism," Dr. Charles Philip Krauth still flattered himself with the idea that the doctrinal basis of the General Synod was sufficiently Lutheran and strong enough to build the Church in America on it; yea, that there could be no extensive union except upon such a basis. The Augsburg Confession, with a little latitude of subscription, he thought, as things were, the best plan. "If we were organizing anew, it would be a different question; but we must take things as they are and determine what is best."

CHARLES PORTERFIELD KRAUTH AND THE CRISIS IN THE GENERAL SYNOD.

In comparing the attitude of Charles Porterfield Krauth during these critical times with that of his father, we are struck with the fact that in those days the son appears to be even more irenical, more disinclined to engage in controversy, more willing to bear with the adversaries and even to compromise, than the gentle, peace-loving, and sometimes even timid, father. As the controversy went on, and Dr. S. S. Schmucker's position was more fully defined, and the Platform was defended against Dr. W. J. Mann's "Plea," in "American Lutheranism Vindicated,"* his father looked with the highest expectations to "Charles" as the man who could best refute and demolish the champion of the New-School party. He watched him with eager delight as he was "making himself very familiar with the 'Quellen' and gathering up all the Lutheranism he can—hatching some chickens which will soon be running about." Meanwhile, Charles seems to be quietly preparing himself for the battle. In June, 1856, he writes to his father:

I have been looking eagerly for Calovius. Why don't he come? I shall die of a bibliographical broken heart if he don't appear soon. Don't disappoint me. Not even strawberries, which are now in glorious prime, could stay me, nor green-peas comfort me, if Calovius does not come.

I got a letter from Dr. Stork on Monday, in which he implores me to review the forthcoming work of Dr. Schmucker. "You are the very man to do it. The cause

* American Lutheranism Vindicated; or, Examination of the Lutheran Symbols on Certain Disputed Topics, including a Reply to the Plea of Rev. W. J. Mann, by S. S. Schmucker, D.D., Professor, etc., Baltimore, 1856.

of truth demands this of YOU. Let no fastidious regard to past relations or sensitive modesty make you shrink. I believe if the true aspects of these salient points of controversy are presented to the people, nothing more would be needed!"

What do you think of my attempting a reply to Dr. S.'s book? And how ought it to be done? Ought it not rather to be addressed to the clergy of our Church than to the people? Perhaps a condensation of the larger work might be adapted for circulation among the people. If I am to do the thing, I must have Calovius. I have some elegant books which I will swop for any old Lutheran trash you may have in your library.

In a series of papers written for the *Missionary*, published by Rev. W. A. Passavant, in Pittsburg, he took up some of the points without formally attacking or even referring to Dr. S. S. Schmucker. Such papers were "The Sabbath and the Lord's Day" and "The Evangelical Mass and the Romish Mass." But he felt no inclination whatever to engage personally in the Platform war. "I have written down a few thoughts on the 'Platform,' but I do not know that I will ever prepare anything for the press on that subject. My thoughts all have an irenical direction." (Letter to his father, January 1, 1856.) The buoyancy and optimism of his nature perhaps never stood out so remarkably as in those days, when, in the midst of the battle-smoke, he had nothing but thoughts of peace and hopefulness for his beloved Church.

Israel was forty years in the desert and yet came out. We may not live to see our beloved Church taking full possession of Canaan, but, die when we may, we are determined to die on Pisgah, with that broad heritage stretching before the eyes of our faith, that heritage which we know God designs for her. We have faith in the character of the people whom God has given to our

Church to be gathered under her banners and to fight her battles.

The signs of the times must be lost on our people if they are not waked up to a more just appreciation of their Church, and, though not known by others as she should be, she is better known and wins increasing respect. The importance of the aid she brings in evangelizing this western world is more deeply felt, and before the eyes of those even who *would* not see her when she sat mourning in the dust, she rises more brightly and beautifully, an *acknowledged power in the land.* (*Missionary*, February 21, 1856.)

The testimony of the Synod of Pittsburg concerning the Definite Platform, at its meeting in Zelienople, Pa., May 27, 1856, was framed by Charles Porterfield Krauth, and its extreme moderation stands in striking contrast to the plain and direct declaration in which his father had condemned the Platform. As the action of the Pittsburg Synod came into prominence again at a later stage of the controversy, it is here given in full:

Whereas, Our Church has been agitated by proposed changes in the Augsburg Confession—changes whose necessity has been predicated upon alleged errors in that Confession;

And *Whereas*, the changes and the charges connected with them, though set forth by individual authority, have been endorsed by some synods of the Lutheran Church and urged upon others for approval, and have been noticed by most of the synods which have met since they have been brought before the Church;

And *Whereas*, amid conflicting statements, many who are sincerely desirous of knowing the truth are distracted, knowing not what to believe, and the danger of internal conflict and schism is incurred;

And *Whereas*, our synods are the source whence an

official declaration in regard to things disputed in the Church may naturally and justly be looked for;

We, therefore, in Synod assembled, in the presence of the Searcher of Hearts, desire to declare to our churches, and before the world, our judgment in regard to these changes and these charges, and the alienation among brethren which may arise from them:

I. *Resolved*, That by the Augsburg Confession we mean that document which was framed by Melanchthon, with the advice, aid, and concurrence of Luther and the other great theologians, and presented by the Protestant princes and Free Cities of Germany at the Diet of Augsburg, in 1530.

II. *Resolved*, That while the basis of our General Synod has allowed of diversity in regard to some parts of the Augsburg Confession, that basis never was designed to imply the right to alter, amend, or curtail the Confession itself.

III. *Resolved*, That while this Synod, resting on the Word of God as the sole authority in matters of faith, on its infallible warrant rejects the Romish doctrine of the real presence or Transubstantiation, and with it the doctrine of Consubstantiation; rejects the Mass, and all ceremonies distinctive of the Mass; denies any power in the Sacraments as an *opus operatum*, or that the blessings of baptism and the Lord's Supper can be received without faith; rejects Auricular Confession, and priestly absolution; holds that there is no priesthood on earth except that of all believers, and that God only can forgive sins; and maintains the sacred obligation of the Lord's day; and while we would with our whole heart reject any part of any confession which taught doctrines in conflict with this our testimony, nevertheless, before God and His Church, we declare that in our judgment the Augsburg Confession, properly interpreted, is in perfect consistence with this our testimony and with holy Scripture as regards the errors specified.

IV. *Resolved*, That while we do not wish to conceal the

fact that some parts of the doctrine of our Confession in regard to the Sacraments are received in different degrees by different brethren, yet that even in these points, wherein we as brethren in Christ agree to differ, till the Holy Ghost shall make us see eye to eye, the differences are not such as to destroy the foundation of faith, our unity in labor, our mutual confidence, and our tender love.

V. *Resolved*, That now, as we have ever done, we regard the Augsburg Confession lovingly and reverently as the "good confession" of our fathers, witnessed before heaven, earth, and hell.

VI. *Resolved*, That if we have indulged harsh thoughts and groundless suspicions, if we have without reason criminated and recriminated, we here humbly confess our fault before our adorable Redeemer, beseeching pardon of Him and of each other, and covenant anew with Him and with each other to know nothing among men but Jesus Christ and Him crucified—acknowledging Him as our only Master, and regarding all who are in the living unity of faith with Him as brethren.

VII. *Resolved*, That we will *resist* all efforts to sow dissensions among us on the ground of minor differences, all efforts on the one hand to restrict the liberty which Christ has given us, or on the other to impair the purity of the "faith once delivered to the saints," and that with new ardor we will devote ourselves to the work of the Gospel, to repairing the waste places of Zion, to building up one another in holiness, and in pointing a lost world to the "Lamb of God"—and that this our covenant with Christ and with each other is made in singleness of heart, without personal implication, duplicity of meaning, or mental reservation, we appeal to Him before whose judgment bar we shall stand, and through whose grace alone we have hope of heaven.

The Convention of the General Synod, which was to meet in the spring of 1857, in Reading, Pa., was naturally

looked for with a great deal of anxiety. It seemed impossible that, in the midst of an agitation which moved her very foundations, the General Synod could abide by her policy of keeping silent and leaving the points of dispute unsettled. But if she had to speak her mind on such a manifesto as the Definite Platform, it seemed equally impossible to satisfy both sides of the house and to keep the antagonistic elements together in one body. "I am decidedly of opinion," wrote Charles Philip Krauth to his son, April 2, 1857, "that the General Synod ought to do something effectual for the pacification of the Church. I concur in the views you express, and believe unless such views prevail, the Church must ere long be rent into fragments. Whilst I am anxious for such an agreement in regard to a doctrinal basis as will embrace all the wings of Lutheranism in our country, I very much wish we could agree on forms of worship in accordance with the liturgical character of our Church, and erect a barrier against the Fanaticism and Methodism which so powerfully control some of our ministers and people."

The views of Charles Porterfield Krauth to which the father here referred were fully set forth in a series of articles which appeared in the *Missionary* from April 30 to May 14, 1857. Warmer words were never written in its favor by any friend and advocate of the General Synod. They represent the most ideal and optimistic conception of the history and the prospects of the General Synod. They were written from a stand-point which the author himself, seven years later, characterized as immature, "well meant, but full of inconsistencies brought about by the struggle between the influences of education and the incoming, but yet imperfectly developed, power of a truly consistent Lutheranism." We present the articles without any abridgment, to show to our readers the true

Krauth as he was at that time, in the honesty of his convictions and the hopefulness of his candid soul.

I. THE GENERAL SYNOD.

(From the *Missionary*, April 30, 1857.)

The close approach of the time at which the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States is to convene, naturally excites in the minds of its members a profound anxiety that on all vital questions which may be raised at that meeting, the friends of truth and of liberty of conscience may be able to see eye to eye.

It is possible, indeed, that the most vital question which now occupies the mind of every Lutheran who thinks at all, will be the very question which will be most sedulously left out of view in the public discussions at the General Synod. Fear and the love of peace may both be called into operation to prevent action. Good men may doubt whether the question should be touched at all. Good men who would like to see a happy solution of it, may differ as to what would furnish such a solution, or, despairing of seeing the accomplishment of what they would wish, would prefer, for fear of making bad worse, that it should be let alone.

It may safely be assumed, however, that all classes of thinkers would rejoice to see the General Synod act in a way which they would regard as worthy of her—would exult in seeing her pursue a course which would tend to tranquilize the Church, and to preserve to her forever her inseparable gifts of purity and freedom. All would agree that she should do something, provided they felt sure that she would do just that which, in their judgment, is right. That the present state of things is not in all respects the best will hardly be denied; but, before decisive steps are taken, the perplexities and perils of change must be well weighed against the desirable things it may accomplish; we must think of what we risk as well as of what we may win.

And yet we may err in thinking that we shall have it in our power to hold in check the determined spirit of change. We may find in the General Synod assembled, a conviction too strong to be resisted, that decisive steps toward a more perfect understanding must be taken. We may find ourselves in a state of things in which it will be ridiculous to appeal to the maxim, *Quieta non movere*, and the General Synod may discover that the great problem for the present solution is how *mota quiescere*. She may find the spirits already raised without her bidding, and feel the necessity of discovering a charm by which she may lay them.

It is in any case well, and in the case supposed will be imperatively necessary, to think of these things as preliminary to the decision of the question, How may our General Synod remove all misapprehensions as to her own position, and all causes of misunderstanding among brethren, that, with the ancient tie of fraternal devotion renewed and strengthened, they may work together for Christ and His Church?

It is impossible for the friends of the Church, without comparison of sentiments, to come to unity of views as to what would accomplish these glorious ends. No man then need plead any other apology than his love for the Church for speaking his opinions freely on this subject. Though he were the youngest of her ministers, or the humblest of her children, he is entitled to a candid hearing. We recognize, as Lutherans, no authority but that of truth, and when men set forth what they believe to be truth, we are to weigh what they set forth—we are not to weigh them. We are not to arraign three score and ten against one score and ten, nor theologian against pastor, nor minister against layman; but argument is to be weighed against argument, evidence against evidence, and the thing affirmed is to be accepted or rejected on its own merits.

We confess that we are of those who think the *General Synod should do something* as regards the differences of

opinion prevailing in the Church. The present state of things, too long protracted, would distract and demoralize the Church; it would tend to bring the General Synod herself into contempt; to paralyze the efficiency of her institutions; to divide her house against itself, and to pervert to internecine war the energies of brethren which should be devoted to the conquest of the world for Christ. Founded "for the promotion of the practice of brotherly love," she might live to weep over her own children alienated from her, and at strife with each other. She might see that "Christian concord" for whose furtherance she was organized, fused into unchristian discord, the "unity of the Spirit" vanishing, and "the bond of peace" broken, never to be united.

The General Synod is the hope of our Church in this country. Under God, hers is the only mediation now visible, by which the scattered tribes of our Israel in this land can be brought together into a compact, self-sustaining body. She is the offspring of a reviving Lutheranism, born in the dawn that followed the night which fell upon our Church in this land, when the patriarchal luminaries of her early history had set on earth to rise in heaven. When the General Synod came into being, Rationalism still was in the ascendant in Europe. The names of Gabler and Bretschneider, of Wegscheider and Roehr, were names which had been held high in honor in the Lutheran Church in Germany. That Church had become what such men might have been expected to make her. Where their influence prevailed she had become rotten in doctrine, destitute not only of the power of godliness, but even of the decencies of its forms, and ready, at the command of a royal devotee of Dagon, for a conjunction which she once would have regarded as the adding of a scaly tail and fishy fin to the fair bust of woman; but the bust was as fishy as the tail now, and they were frozen into happy conjunction.

But this was not the Lutheranism which the General

Synod desired to plant and perpetuate in the New World. When the Lutheran Church looked around her in her adopted land, she saw ignorance of her principles, and prejudices of every hue prevailing against her. When she looked to her native land all was thick darkness there. What was there on this side of the Atlantic or beyond it, to inspire hope? Why not abandon the experiment as a thing foregone and yield to the process of absorption into surrounding sects? It was at this crisis that the life of the Church displayed itself in the formation of the General Synod. The formation was a great act of faith, made, as the framers of her Constitution sublimely express it, in reliance "upon God our Father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the guidance and direction of the Holy Spirit in the Word of God." The framers of that Constitution should be as dear to us as Lutherans, as the framers of our federal Constitution are to us as Americans.

When the General Synod became completely organized by the acknowledgment of the doctrinal Articles of the Augsburg Confession as a standard of faith, it was the only *voluntary* body on earth pretending to embrace a nation as its territory, and bearing a Lutheran name, in which the fundamental doctrines of Lutheranism were the basis of union.

The General Synod was a declaration, on the part of the Lutheran Church in America, that she had no intention of dying or moving—that she liked this western world and meant to live here. And she has lived and waxed stronger and stronger, and the General Synod has been a mighty agent in sustaining and extending her beneficent work, and is destined to see a future which shall eclipse all her glory in the past. Heaven pity the fate of the man who looks upon the General Synod as having been a curse to the Church, or an inefficient worker in it—who imagines that Lutheranism would be stronger if the General Synod were weaker, or that truth would be reared upon the ruins of what she has been patiently

laboring for nearly forty years to build. Let a schism take place in her members, let loyalty to the principles she represents be seriously diminished, let the confederation she maintains be broken, and the injury to our Church in this land would be incalculable. It would be to our Church what a separation of the States would be to our Union. And because our General Synod carries such moral weight with her, because her voice is one in which we all confide, we wish her to lay to rest the rising strife—to speak to her children with mild authoritativeness, for her calm judgment will be without appeal. Whatever effort may be made to reverse her decisions, with the great mass of the Church they will be considered as a final settlement of the question. Be that settlement what it may, we trust she will make it. We believe it will be such as to make all true hearts glad; it will, at the worst, relieve a painful suspense.

II. THE DOCTRINAL BASIS OF THE GENERAL SYNOD.

We have expressed an opinion that the General Synod should *do something* as regards the doctrinal basis on which she has desired the synods to be confederated.

We assume, from the outstart, that she *has* a doctrinal basis. The theory that she has none does not need a serious refutation. It will be conceded that no Synod which was atheistic or pantheistic, which denied the inspiration and supreme authority of God's Word, or which was Socinian or Universalist, could find admittance into her fellowship. She has, then, manifestly, at least a basis of general Christian and *Protestant* orthodoxy.

It will be conceded, moreover, that the General Synod never proposed to be a union of all Protestant or Evangelical denominations, but simply of the Evangelical Lutheran Synods in the United States, and that, therefore, to a sufficient extent to correspond with her name and purposes, her basis must be *Lutheran*.

The General Synod, by her forms of licensure and ordination, has defined her doctrinal position as Protestant by the question, "Do you believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the Word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and practice?" Her doctrinal position as *Lutheran* she has defined by that question which has become so famous in our Church discussions: "Do you believe that the *fundamental* doctrines of the Word of God are taught in a manner *substantially* correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession?"

To the question, What ought she to do? we reply, unhesitatingly, *First of all, let the General Synod assert her purpose rigidly to maintain her original position as to doctrine*, as involved in the question we have just quoted.

What, then, is that question? We reply, in general: First, that the subject of her general affirmation is not the Book of Concord as a whole, but simply and purely the Augsburg Confession. Secondly, that not the entire Confession, but only the twenty-one articles of it which treat of doctrine, are specified in the affirmation. Thirdly, that only so far as these articles embrace *fundamental* doctrines does she make an affirmation. Fourthly, that of these she affirms that they teach the doctrines in a correct manner, and defines the correctness as a *substantial* one.

I. The Augsburg Confession.

First, then, as to the *general subject* of her affirmation, we are satisfied with her position. We rejoice that she took the great fundamental creed of the Reformation, as her creed, that Confession, which is to the renewed Church what the Apostles' creed is to the earliest period, and the Nicene and Athanasian creeds are to the vexed era in which they were framed. The Augsburg Confession is a symbol which alone has been recognized always, everywhere, and by all Lutherans as their Confession;

and, as Lutheranism in America should rest on nothing that is local or national, but should embody as essential only that which is common to the Lutheranism of all lands, it is a vital point that she should acknowledge as her creed that only whose reception in the Church has been universal. The Augsburg Confession is the symbol of Lutheran catholicity; all other distinctive portions of the Book of Concord are symbols of Lutheran particularity, creeds of Lutheran churches, but not in an undisputed sense, of the Lutheran Church. While our Church in this land should study what is local in the Lutheranism of all lands, and learn whatever good there may be in each, she should not feel bound to commit herself to it. The Augsburg Confession, then, alone of the creeds of the past, is of necessity to be taken by her as a standard. Of other standards we do not deny that she may take them; we simply deny that she *must*. In her requisitions of her theological professors she has, in fact, taken in addition the Catechisms of Luther. But her General Synod was bound by the nature of its objects, and of its plan, to make its basis the very broadest which the retention of the essential character of Lutheranism would allow. We are glad, therefore, that neither the Book of Concord as a whole, nor any part of it following the Augsurg Confession, nor any abridgment, improvement, or recension of that great Confession—no, not Melanchthon's own of 1540, but the Augsburg Confession itself, uncorrupted and unvaried, as it was given to the world by our Confessors in 1530, was the subject of affirmation. She set forth no new creed, she proposed no "consensus" of different Protestant creeds, nor did she present the ecumenical creeds of Christendom as a sufficient basis. She set forth the Augsburg Confession, and that alone.

II. The Doctrinal Articles.

We are satisfied with her position in separating the doctrinal articles of the Confession from the articles on

abuses, and fixing her affirmation specifically on the former. The difference between the "summary of doctrine" in the first twenty-one articles, and "the abuses" which occupy the last seven, is made in the Confession itself. The second part of the Augsburg Confession is not a creed in the proper sense, but simply an account of the abuses in the Romish Church, and a statement of the reasons for rejecting them. It is apologetic and only incidentally confessional, simply as every defence of a faith is *ipso facto* a confession of the faith it defends.

The distinctive objects of a creed make it unnecessary to state the sound doctrine on other than *disputed* points. In the desire for that brevity which has so many advantages; contemplating the articles on abuses as condemning wrongs so obvious as to be unanimously rejected by all Protestants, whether Lutheran or Reformed, Evangelical or Heterodox, the General Synod avoided a specific mention of them, evidently because she thought it needless to enlarge the particular Confession which the licensed or ordained minister acknowledged, by insisting on a repudiation of such abuses as the one kind in the Communion, the celibacy of the clergy, the Romish Mass, auricular confession, distinction of meats, monastic vows, and ecclesiastical and episcopal tyranny.

Her silence on them was so far from implying a *rejection* of them that it implied the very opposite. She specified the doctrinal articles, because on them there might be difference of opinion. She passed over the articles on abuses, because on these abuses she felt safe in assuming there could be none.

When the General Synod, however, adopted at Frederick, Md., November 8, 1825, her statutes for the government of the Theological Seminary she was about to found, she declared "that in this Seminary shall be taught the fundamental doctrines of the sacred Scriptures as contained in the Augsburg Confession." Here, the subject of specific affirmation was not the doctrinal articles, but the entire Confession.

In the Constitution of the Seminary it is stated (Arts. 1, 2), that "it is designed 'to provide our churches with pastors who sincerely believe, and cordially approve of, the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, as they are fundamentally taught in the Augsburg Confession.'" Here again the subject of specific affirmation is not the doctrinal articles, but the entire Confession.

In the same Constitution (Art. 3), every professor elect is required to publicly pronounce and subscribe a declaration in which are the words: "I believe the Augsburg Confession and the Catechisms of Luther to be a summary and just exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God." Here again the Augsburg Confession is the subject of affirmation.

The General Synod then in her formula of licensure and ordination, did not mean to reject the articles on abuses, but simply to accept the articles on doctrines. Her silence on them is no proof to the contrary, just as her silence on Luther's Catechisms is no proof that she rejected them, as is clear from the Professor's declaration just cited. The formula simply proves that for the purposes had in view, she regarded the affirmation of the licenciate, and the applicant for ordination, in regard to the doctrinal articles of the Confession, as sufficient. We are satisfied then with her position in this, that, rejecting no part of the Augsburg Confession, she yet directs the candidate for her ministry specifically to its doctrinal articles.

III. Fundamental Doctrines.

Thirdly, we are satisfied that her position, in making the affirmation in regard to these articles, touch only "the *fundamental* doctrines of the Word of God."

A fundamental doctrine is one which is essential to the being of a system. As systems differ, it is evident that the term fundamental must be a relative term, and that we can tell what is fundamental in a system only when we know what the system is.

Every system professing to be Christian, in virtue of its very being, assumes to be the system taught in the Word of God.

Every system of doctrine which claims to be the doctrines of God's Word, must therefore of necessity consider that what is fundamental to it, is fundamental to the system of doctrines of the Word of God; for how can two things be the same, and yet not have the same things, fundamental to both?

The word "fundamental," when it is practically applied, must therefore always be used relatively to some particular system. It is not a defining word, but a word to be defined. When you know nothing of a man's system, and he tells you that he holds the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God, you feel that he has not enlightened you, for you do not know what he regards as doctrines of God's Word, and still less, which among those he receives are regarded by him as fundamental. The members of different Churches using the word "fundamental" with equal sincerity, nevertheless designate different things by it.

Now relatively to WHAT SYSTEM does the formula of the General Synod require an affirmation touching the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God?

Does it purpose to leave the word perfectly undefined —that is, to use a word without a meaning, or with no principles on which its meaning can be determined? The bitterest foe of our General Synod will hardly venture so reckless an assertion as that.

Does it mean that the word "fundamental" shall be determined by its relation to the views of each particular individual? This would be in effect to leave the meaning undetermined. As a Church sets forth her Confession not to conceal views but to make them known, it is evident that she must design by the form in which she sets it forth to preclude the necessity of going to A. B. and C., and several hundred or several thousand other ministers and members to find out what she teaches. It is evident

furthermore that she is not to go to her scattered ministers and members to find out what she means by fundamentals; they are to come to her.

If every man is to be allowed to assume that his individual system is that relatively to which doctrines are to be adjudged as fundamental or non-fundamental, we have no Confession left. Instil into the theological student, and the licentiate of the Church, the idea that he is to look not to the name, the history, the Confession, the official declarations of the Church for light as to what he is in conscience bound, while he retains the name Lutheran, to regard as fundamental doctrines of the Word of God, but that he is to make his own crude fancy the standard of what is fundamental, and the result will be that when hands are laid upon him, you will not know whom you are ordaining; or if by examination you have discovered that he holds what is fundamental in your system, you cannot tell, but that in the exercise of that license, to which on this theory he is fully entitled, he may in six years or in six months have a system whose fundamentals will leave him free to trample in the dust the one which he held when he was ordained. So defining the word fundamental, as relating to the system of the individual, and the Socinian may kneel at the altar for investiture with the holy office, for the doctrines of the Trinity, of the Deity, and the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ are not fundamental to his system: the Pelagian, the Antinomian, and the Universalist may kneel there, for the doctrines of grace, of the law, and of the "judgment to come," are not fundamental to their system. The whole life and genius of our General Synod, the character of its most ardent supporters, and the well-known doctrinal views of the distinguished theologian who framed the formula under discussion, are resistless witnesses against such a view as this. The Church, and not the individual, then, is to be our guide to the meaning of the word. Are we then to regard the word "fundamental" as used relatively to the *Christian system in gen-*

eral—those points on which all Christians are agreed? If this be the case, then any body of men which held so much of the Christian system as left it a being, and made salvation possible by it, could receive this part of the formula. On this view not even the fundamentals of Protestantism would be covered by it, unless we contend that all men in the Greek Church and the Church of Rome are either lost eternally as fundamental errorists, or are saved not as Christians but as pagans—a position which in neither of its parts would, we presume, be taken by any Protestant. It is no answer to this to say that no such body *would* apply, for the point of our remark is not that there is any danger of such application, but that in a Protestant formula, it is inconceivable there should exist an incongruity by which an un-Protestant body could attain ecclesiastical rights in a Protestant church, if they would. It is evident, then, that at least what is fundamental to *Protestantism* is included in the word, as our formula uses it—but is that all? Are we simply *Protestant* in the vaguest sense of the word—built not upon certain truths, but alone upon the negation of certain Romish errors?

We will take it for granted that heterodox Protestantism is excluded, and that our General Synod, which solemnly binds the professors in her Seminary to vindicate against "Socinians, Unitarians, Arians, Universalists, Pelagians, Antinomians, and all other errorists," "the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God," of which the Augsburg Confession and "the Catechisms of Luther" are "a summary and just exhibition," never meant to recognize as brethren these very errorists; sustaining a professor of polemics who was to oppose certain heresies in the Seminary, and setting forth a Formula under which the heretics themselves would be received with "an holy kiss," into Synod.

But was the word "fundamental" meant to be relative simply to orthodox Protestantism, to Evangelical orthodoxy, or what claims to be such? Then it excludes

all doctrines of the Word of God on which Evangelical Protestants are not agreed. What, then, is the result? Some orthodox Protestants hold to Episcopacy *jure divino*, and others to views of the ministerial office which practically annihilate it as a thing of divine appointment; some have the very highest, some the very lowest, views of Church authority; some Evangelical Protestants say that infants are not to be admitted to baptism, and that immersion is the only valid mode of performing that holy rite; some view baptism as the sacramental seal of regeneration, and others look on it as a mere outward form; some regard the Lord's Supper as comprehending a sacramental presence of its institutor, and others look upon it as purely mnemonic; some orthodox Protestants retain the practice of private confession, and other regard it as only auricular confession in a very thin disguise; some practice confirmation, and others insist that it is a Popish ceremony; some keep fasts and festivals, and others regard them with aversion; some regard exorcism as allowable, and others view the ceremony as worse than the unclean spirit which it summons to give way to the Spirit of God.

Now, that in which Protestants differ without ceasing to be Protestants, cannot be fundamental to the Protestant system. If the word "fundamental," then, in our Formula is used relatively to Protestantism, it would allow within the bosom of our Church all the differences which divide the Protestant world—a suicidal commingling. Episcopacy and Independency, stringent Augustinianism and semi-Pelagianism, high Calvinism and low Arminianism, Anabaptism and Pedobaptism, would struggle together, divide our people into parties, convert our pastors into furious polemics, and would leave the vineyard of the Lord as if the wild boars from the forest had ravaged it. The daughter of Zion would be left like a lodge in a garden of cucumbers. If peace ever returned to the unhappy Church, it would be the peace of indifference—or the sullen calm which falls upon men when,

with the spirit of battle still unquenched in their heart, they cease to fight because they are too weary to lift their weapons.

The idea that such looseness would bring within our Church all that is best in other denominations is most delusive. The practical result would be that we would inherit all their defects and none of their strength. Taken from its connection and vital union with self-consistent systems, that, which had been beautiful in its place, would become revolting. It would be as if the tyrant of some African tribe should summon together all its beautiful women, and selecting what he thought the most perfect nose from one, a pair of lips from another, of eyes from a third, of ears from a fourth, and so through the different portions of a beautiful form, should have them removed by barbarous surgery, and should henceforth boast that the sack into which they were jumbled together was the sack of absolute beauty, and held the most perfect woman in the world.

While we love our General Synod, because in every accent she breathes the spirit of affection to those who serve our Redeemer, and thank God that none of the deformities of a Pharisaic exclusiveness cling to her; while we rejoice that we can be loyal to her principles and yet meet in the pulpit, meet in all the common labors of Christianity, and above all, meet, at the table of the Lord, our brethren of all Evangelical churches, we feel an assurance equally strong that she does not bind or tempt us to indifference in the maintenance of truth, or to syncretism in the confession of it. We are perfectly satisfied that a Synod which bears the "name, style, and title" of Evangelical Lutheran, whose fundamental articles were adopted by deputies of Evangelical Lutheran Synods, whose Constitution declares that none other than deputies of "Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conventions" shall be its members; a Synod which directed the eyes of her ministers to the Augsburg Confession, and of her theological professors to the same great Confession, and

the Catechisms of Luther as her standards; to Confessions, in a word, which are not merely Protestant, but are Evangelical Lutheran, when she used the word "fundamental" meant by it *that which is relatively so to Evangelical Lutheranism; that which the Augsburg Confession in its very heart and substance assumes to be fundamental to that system of Christianity of which it is the Confession.* Taking, then, as a correct definition of what are fundamental doctrines of the Word of God, that which is demonstrably to be assumed as such, as on the acknowledged principles of Evangelical Lutheranism, and of the Augsburg Confession, its great standard, we want no more. We are satisfied with regard to the General Synod in her declaration as to fundamentals.

IV. Substantial Correctness.

Finally, in the declaration that the fundamentals of the Word of God are taught in a correct manner and in the qualification of the word "correct" by the term "substantially," we are satisfied with the position of the General Synod.

If when the General Synod affirmed that the *fundamentals* were correctly taught, she had declared or implied that the non-fundamentals were incorrectly taught, no Lutheran who believed that the Augsburg Confession is sound on *all* the doctrinal points it touches, or who believed that none but fundamental doctrines are set forth in the Confession, could have received the Formula. She satisfied herself, therefore, with an affirmative about fundamentals, making neither an affirmation nor denial in regard to non-fundamentals. She left the Synods in absolute freedom in non-fundamentals, freedom to doubt, to reject, or to RECEIVE them.

So also when she declared that the fundamentals of Scripture doctrine are taught in a manner *substantially* correct, she neither declared nor implied that they were not taught in a manner absolutely correct, but, as all who

believe that they are set forth in a manner *absolutely correct*, believe, necessarily, that they are taught in a manner *substantially* correct, for that which is absolute embraces that which is substantial and something more, she simply makes an affirmation, so far as two classes of thinkers are agreed, affirming nothing and denying nothing as regards that in which they differ, but having absolute freedom to doubt, reject, or RECEIVE that which goes beyond the substance, and embraces the minutiæ of the form.

The man who has a quarrel with this position of the General Synod has a quarrel not against something incidental to her, but against her very life. For on this position, expressed or implied, rested and continues to rest the ability of our General Synod to have a being.

The General Synod never could have entered upon so hopeless a task as the attempt to unite Synods which regarded their differences as fundamental. After all the classifications of our theological Cuviers, who have pretended to tell us on inspection of a single scale, or claw, exactly to what kingdom the animal belonged which wore that scale or exercised that claw, whether warm or cold-blooded, oviparous or viviparous, gramnivorous or carnivorous, whether he was of the land or of the water, or amphibious, we beg leave to say that in our General Synod such classification is very unnecessary, and we would deferentially add, is, in our opinion, exquisitely absurd. There are not only not distinct genera, there are no distinct species in the General Synod. There is but one class, one species in it, and all the differences are simply those of varieties in one species. The true friends of the General Synod have this specific mark, that, setting aside non-fundamentals as terms of ministerial union and of Church fellowship, they meet on fundamentals; and setting aside the minutiæ of the mere technical phraseology of one or two features in one or two doctrines, they meet in harmony on their substance.

But, within this unity, which is not merely generic but is specific, there confessedly have existed and do exist

the distinctions of variety, and it was a matter of vital necessity to make provision for this difference; a necessity, without meeting which the General Synod would not have been at all, or would have been utterly impotent for good.

To see clearly that she was guided by "the wisdom that cometh from above," in the provision she made, it may be well to look for a moment at the points of difficulty which she had to avoid.

There are three varieties of thinkers in the General Synod who would be unprepared to make, or at least to insist on, an absolutely unrestricted subscription to the Augsburg Confession.

No one can deny that in the General Synod there has always been a large portion of ministers who could not make such a subscription. A portion of her best ministers, reared in the Church and loving it from their inmost souls, willing to labor for the Church, and if need be, to die for it; men who have sacrificed much and are willing to sacrifice more for it, and whose names will be venerated while the Church endures, could not in good conscience affirm, without any limitation, that they received, word for word, every part of the Augsburg Confession. Varied as are the Protestant sects, they could have found no home for their hearts in any one of them, and they never would have consented to form a new sect. They loved the usages, loved all the distinguishing doctrines of the Lutheran Church which seemed to them most vital; they preferred the Augsburg Confession as a whole to any creed in existence, and if they received it with some reservation, it was with far less than they could have received any other. Yet there was a part, a very small part comparatively, which they rejected.

These men, then, could not give it an unlimited subscription, and the scruple which forbade it was honest, and entitled to the highest respect. This class of men were active in establishing, and have been unwearied in sustaining, the General Synod and her institutions. Men

out of the General Synod may, if they please, argue the question, whether this class are Lutherans, but any Synod or any man connected with the General Synod concedes, in that very fact, that this class are Lutherans *on the definition of the compact*, and, if there be any inconsistency, it is in that Synod or in that man. "Thou bearest not the root, but the root thee."

There is a second variety in the General Synod—men who *reject* no portion of the Augsburg Confession, and yet could not affirm that they *receive* every part—their judgment is in suspense—they are seeking light and know not yet whither they will be led by their examination. Whither would such men be driven by an unlimited subscription?

There is a third variety, who, though themselves able to receive every part, never would consent to a term of ministerial union, and of church fellowship, which would cut them off from brethren dear in the Lord, and would rend the Church on points of difference which, however important intrinsically, sink into insignificance compared with those on which they agree.

We might, if we were disposed to minute classification, make a fourth class midway between the second and third. There is such a class and it grows daily, and its general tendencies are rather to advance to the third than to retreat into the second.

Take, then, these three varieties—or, if you will, these four out of the General Synod, and who would be left? We have heard terrible things of Symbolism, Sabbatism, Catechism, and Old Lutheranism, but if a division were called for on the question: Shall an absolute reception of the very letter of every part of the Augsburg Confession be the pre-requisite to admission into our ministry? there would be upon the one side the General Synod almost as a body, on the other hardly a man. But if the division were again called for on the question: Shall an absolute *rejection* of the very letter of any part of the Augsburg Confession be the pre-requisite to admission

into our ministry? we believe the response would be no less decided in the negative.

These questions, and the answers we suppose to be given them, bring before us the problem which the General Synod regarded herself as called to solve, and give us a hint as to what that solution actually was.

She evidently desired to state the minimum of doctrinal agreement on which ministers could meet without sacrificing the fundamentals of Lutheranism, and to recognize on terms of absolute equality in every respect, alike those who did not accept the very letter of the Augsburg Confession on non-fundamentals, and those who did feel themselves constrained by the light of the Scriptures, as they understood them, to receive the Confession word for word. It is a transparent confusion of things wholly diverse, to represent the fact that the basis of the General Synod *allows* of deviation from some points of the doctrine of the Church, as if this were identical with her *demanding* such a deviation; as if she wished to make the *rejection* of some parts of the Confession an absolute test of ministerial recognition, or what would, to men with the slightest self-respect or sensibility, be worse, as if she allowed the Synods to take action which would put upon men who received the entire Confession the brand of tolerated error, and leave them in their isolation

> **"To peep about**
> **To find themselves dishonorable graves."**

This seems to be a plain distinction, and yet the neglect of it is, in our judgment, the sole cause of the agitation in our Church—and the full statement of it the sole thing needed to allay that agitation.

The doctrinal basis of the General Synod, then, was designed to be one on which, without sacrifice of conscience, brethren differing in non-fundamentals might meet. It is a basis, which on the one hand neither by ex-

pression nor by implication charges error upon any part of the doctrinal articles of the Confession, but as far as it touches the question at all, expresses or implies the very opposite; a basis, therefore, on which brethren who receive the Confession without reservation, can rest, but which at the same time, on the other hand, defines its position only as to what is *fundamental*, leaving entirely untouched the questions, whether non-fundamental doctrines are taught in the Confession, and whether, if taught, *they* are taught in a manner substantially correct. Furthermore, in using the word "substantially" to qualify the term "correct," in the affirmation as to fundamentals, the General Synod meant not to *decide*, but to *leave untouched* the question whether as to its very letter, as well as in its essentials, the Confession is a correct exhibition of Scripture doctrine. The position, in effect, implied this: Brethren may differ as to whether the non-fundamental doctrines, as well as the fundamental doctrines, are correctly stated in the Confession. Let them differ. We make no decision whatever as to that point. Both agree as to *fundamentals;* therefore fundamentals only shall be the object in this subscription. We affirm of *them* that they are taught correctly in the Confession. Of the non-fundamentals we affirm nothing, and deny nothing. Neither their reception nor rejection has anything to do with this basis. But brethren differ on another point. Some receive the very letter of the Confession on all points of doctrine; others who receive it to the letter on most points, receive it only as to its main drift on a few. Let, then, that which is apart from the substance be left out of view, and be the subject neither of affirmation nor of denial. Let us make the affirmation simply on the *substantial* correctness of the Confession, for on that all are agreed. Here, too, shall be the same absolute freedom to RECEIVE what is apart from the substance, as to reject it.

The basis of the General Synod, then, does not imply that non-fundamentals are falsely taught, or that the cor-

rectness of the Confession on fundamentals is *merely* substantial. The questions which touch non-fundamentals or matters apart from the substance, are *simply waived* and left undetermined. Thus interpreted, the most devoted friend of the Confession, in all its parts, as well as he who is compelled to make a reservation as to some portions, can freely use the Formula. It was the best basis possible, under all the circumstances, and we are therefore satisfied with it.

And who are dissatisfied? Two classes of men. The rigid Symbolist, who regards it as absolutely necessary, publicly and officially to recognize every part of the Confession as binding, and who regards the whole as a term of ministerial or Synodical fellowship, cannot consistently accept the Formula. And at the other extreme, the Schismatist, who regards it as necessary, publicly and officially to reject portions of the Confession, and virtually to make that rejection, or a connivance at it, a term of ministerial or Synodical fellowship, is, equally with the other, at strife with the spirit of the General Synod and the letter of its Formula.

From these two extremes, as might have been anticipated, the assaults have been made upon the doctrinal position of the General Synod—from the outside by the former class, and from within by the latter. The assaults of the former class have tended to strengthen the General Synod, and of the latter, to weaken her; the blows of the former have been those of avowed enemies, the strokes of the latter have been those of nominal friends. But, standing firm, where she stood at first, she can successfully encounter both; and there it is, we trust, she will be found standing. The Church in the United States wants neither Symbololatry nor Schism, neither a German Lutheranism, in an exclusive sense, nor an American Lutheranism, in a separatistic one, but an EVANGELICAL LUTHERANISM broad enough to embrace both, and to make each vitalize and bless the other, and supply the mutual defects of each. She will abide by the

essentials of her Scripture doctrine and of her Christian life, but she will use her liberty to adapt herself to her new position on this continent. She will neither be juggled out of her faith by one set of operators, nor out of her freedom by another. She will hold fast that which she has, and those who strive to take her crown from her will be remembered only by their utter and ignominious failure.

III. THE DUTY OF THE GENERAL SYNOD AT THE PRESENT CRISIS.

The General Synod cannot take a higher position as to doctrine than her present one: She cannot take a lower one; therefore she must remain where she is.

But in retaining her original position it by no means follows that she shall retain the words in which she has expressed it, if these words have been found to be ambiguous, for her position is not in the words, but in what they are meant to convey. If they are found to be capable of distortion from their real intent, and actually to have undergone such distortion, and if there be a real difficulty in convincing men, from the words now used, that they are in conflict with the principles of the General Synod, a change in their minds may be made expedient by her very determination to maintain her position, and to let the world see clearly what it is. Or she may accomplish the same end by retaining the words of the Formula, and taking such further action as may be necessary to relieve them and herself from misapprehension. Our preference is very decided for the latter course: let the old Formula stand and let it be defined.

Feeling of the Ambiguity of the Formula in its Undefined Form.

There is a feeling almost universal that there is practically an ambiguity in the Formula. Not only do the enemies of the General Synod represent its mode of sub-

scription as a thing sufficiently ductile to take any shape, but the same ground has been taken by some of its most devoted friends. Various Synods have put their own interpretation upon it, acknowledging thereby that it needs interpretation; and the President of the General Synod,* at its Fourteenth Convention, a man whose devotion to the General Synod, and whose ability to speak intelligently about it will not be questioned, declared in the sermon which his official duty required him, as President, to deliver: "We object to the liberty allowed in that subscription. . . . It is liable to very great abuse. . . . It is evident that a creed thus presented is no creed, that it is anything or nothing, that its subscription is a solemn farce."

We have expressed in a former article the opinion that the mode of subscription is not *meant* to give this dangerous latitude, nor do we understand the writer, whom we quote, to express an opinion that this is its true meaning, but that the subscription, owing to its vagueness, is *liable* to this great abuse, and that thus abused, as it has been, and may be again, "it is a solemn farce."

This Feeling not Without Reason.

And this feeling, which has found voice in such manifold ways within the General Synod, is not without reason. The correctness of interpretations which are reached by comparison of testimonies, and by an inductive process of reasoning, will almost invariably be disputed, because testimony and argument affect different minds in various degrees.

Take the word "fundamental," for instance, in the Formula. We have tried to show that, used as it is, and by whom it is, we are to limit it by supposing it to be regarded relatively to the Evangelical Lutheran system; that is, that when an Evangelical Lutheran speaks of the "fundamental doctrines of the Scriptures," he means,

* Dr. Charles Philip Krauth.

not those doctrines which the Romish, or the Socinian, or the Anabaptist systems set forth as such, nor those merely in which those systems agree, but he means the doctrines which, in the judgment of his Church are fundamental doctrines of Scripture, and which she shows she regards as such, by setting them forth as her own fundamental doctrines. Now, this seems to us to be clearly the true position; but will it seem equally clear to all friends of the General Synod? We hope it will; we fear it will not. Now, which of the conflicting opinions is correct? Whither are we to look for light, if not to the body which sets forth this Formula?

Take another illustration. The Tenth Article of the Confession is the one in which, confessedly, would be to the minds of many brethren the greatest difficulty in an unlimited subscription. Now, mark the difficulty which we have with this very Article on *any interpretation* of the present Formula, so long as it is left undefined. Interpret it so as to rule out the whole matter of the Lord's Supper as non-fundamental, and then you would have a Lutheran Church ignoring the Lord's Supper, for the Formula speaks only of "fundamental doctrines," and, on the supposition in which we argue, nothing is said of this, for it is non-fundamental. No one, then, will argue that this is the correct interpretation. But the current mode of escaping the difficulty, though it has the advantage that it does not plunge us into the awful gulf into which the other does, and is, therefore, better practically, is, logically, considered a great deal worse. That mode is to say, that while that which is *common* to the views of all orthodox Churches in the Lord's Supper is fundamental, that which is distinctive of each, and consequently that which is distinctive of the Lutheran Church, is non-fundamental. But this reply not only does not *meet* the difficulty—it does not seem even to apprehend what the difficulty is. It makes a pygmy, and successfully cuts him to pieces; but not only does not meet and overwhelm the giant difficulty which really presents itself,

but does not appear to know of its existence. Here is the difficulty. Admit that those points in which the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper differs from that of other systems of Protestant orthodoxy are non-fundamental—non-fundamental to Christianity, non-fundamental to Protestantism, and non-fundamental, if you will, to Lutheranism; that admission gives not the slightest relief to the difficulty in the interpretation of which we speak. The Formula presents the affirmation in regard to "the fundamental doctrines of the WORD OF GOD." The question, then, as regards fundamentals, is not whether the Lutheran, Calvinistic, or Zwinglian doctrine of the Lord's Supper be fundamental, but whether the doctrine of the WORD OF GOD, be it what it may, is a fundamental one. The whole Christian world will reply that it is; and the only mode of meeting the difficulty, whose fallacy we are exposing, goes upon the supposition that the SCRIPTURE doctrine of the Lord's Supper, be it what it may, is fundamental. When the Formula brings before us the question: Is that fundamental doctrine of SCRIPTURE in regard to the Lord's Supper taught in a manner *substantially correct* in the article of the Confession which treats of that subject? there is no escaping this dilemma. A man must, if he accepts the Formula, either maintain that the *Scripture* doctrine of the Lord's Supper is non-fundamental, or that this Scripture doctrine being fundamental, is taught in a manner substantially correct in the Tenth Article of the Augsburg Confession. No Evangelical Christian will say the former; the real difficulty, then, remains: How can a man, Zwinglian in his views on the Lord's Supper, consistently say the latter? Take the Tenth Article word by word, and ask: Can a Zwinglian, even giving to the word "substantially" its utmost latitude, conscientiously affirm that the *Scripture* doctrine of the Lord's Supper is set forth in it in a manner *substantially correct?* If a Sacramental Calvinist could, a Zwinglian certainly could not; for the very substance, the totality of the let-

ter of the Article, is an affirmation of a true presence, in such a sense as the Zwinglian does not receive. This true presence is the beginning, middle, and end of the letter of the Tenth Article. That is in it, and nothing else is in it. It has two sentences—one affirms a true presence; the other condemns those who deny this true presence. The Synods which have taken up this difficulty have invariably cut the knot; they have never untied it. All that they affirm about the divine institution, and perpetual obligation of the Lord's Supper, is well in its place; but its place is not here, for it throws no light on the question: How can the terms of a subscription which implies that the Scripture doctrine of the Lord's Supper is taught in a manner substantially correct in the Tenth Article of the Augsburg Confession, be so defined that a Zwinglian can conscientiously employ it? That is a question on which we would humbly implore an answer from the General Synod. She can untie the knot, for she tied it.

It would not be difficult to multiply illustrations of the facility with which questions of strife may arise while the Formula remains undefined. Between the extremes of interpretation which have been given it there is a wide distance. Some may think that this is a distinguishing beauty of it; but we cannot agree with them. The present posture of affairs in our Church, we think, demonstrates that we must either clearly state what is its meaning, or see the Church worn out with intestine strife. Lord Bacon says, that the time in an argument which is employed in clearly setting forth the state of the question, is well employed. In the matter of the General Synod's position, it would be emphatically well employed; for a correct statement of the question would involve, to every unprejudiced mind, a correct answer to it.

I. Position as to Scripture.

First: The General Synod, in order to present at one view her whole doctrinal position, might affirm that she

can officially recognize no ecclesiastical body as Protestant, and still less as Lutheran, which does not believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the Word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and practice.

II. Position as to the Augsburg Confession.

The General Synod, furthermore, should recognize no Synodical body as Evangelical Lutheran which does not make the Augsburg Confession, unmutilated and unchanged, the subject, or part of the subject, of its confessional affirmation. Whatever limitation is given to the affirmation itself, the Confession, unvaried, should be the subject of that affirmation.

The reception of the Augsburg Confession, in some sense, is a part of the essentials of the definition of what is Evangelical Lutheran. That Church, then, is not Evangelical Lutheran which *officially rejects* the Augsburg Confession, or *officially rejects*, or *requires*, directly or indirectly, on the part of its members, a rejection of the Augsburg Confession, or a connivance at such official rejection.

If one Synod has the right to issue a Recension of its own in place of the Augsburg Confession, the twenty-four other Synods have the same right, each mutilating the Confession at will, and each mutilating in a different fashion. And the right to issue a Recension of one kind in any one year, implies the right on the part of the same Synod to issue another of another kind the next year. Do the principles of our General Synod lead to such a state of things, or justify them? Do they, instead of harmonizing our Synods, tend to keep them in everlasting warfare—fostering division, instead of unity, and exciting fratricidal war, instead of fraternal peace? Is this what she contemplated when in her Constitution she said: "The General Synod shall apply all their powers, their prayers, and their means, toward the prevention of *schisms among us?*" Do the principles of that Synod

justify a course which, legitimately run out, might make twenty-five denominations out of twenty-five Synods, and which would, at the very least, make of what was once so happily united, and was every day tending to a closer union, two wretched, two bleeding fragments, both bearing in their alienated life the name of a Church which was never divided before? Did the founders of our General Synod, when they laid down as a "fundamental article for themselves and their successors" the duty of being "sedulously and incessantly regardful of the circumstances of the times, and of every casual rise and progress of unity of sentiment among *Christians in general*, in order that the blessed opportunities to promote concord and unity, and the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, may not pass by neglected and unavailing"—did they mean that the sacred interests of our own internal unity should be neglected in the paroxysms of a universal philanthropy? That while we saw to it that Baptists and Methodists kept the peace with each other, and that the Thirty-nine Articles and the Westminister Confession observed the due civilities, we should forget, meanwhile, peace within our own borders, and, while preaching against the multitudinousness of sects already existing, should permit our own Church to develop principles which would give her a glory to which she never aspired before, that of adding to their number?

III. Position as to Doctrinal Articles.

Thirdly. The General Synod might clearly state that, in requiring an affirmation of licentiates and candidates for ordination merely as to the "doctrinal articles of the Confession," she does not mean that she REJECTS the other parts, and that the questions are to be regarded simply as evidence of what she affirms, and that they are not to be dragged into dispute as implications of what she is supposed to deny. The General Synod has nothing to do with the other "symbolical books," either by

affirmation as to their supposed truths or rejection of their alleged errors. Her theological professors are bound to the whole Augsburg Confession, but her ministers to the doctrinal articles only by her mode of subscription, and outside of them she cannot go.

In looking over the articles, we do not wonder that the leader in the Platform movement was willing to have, and actually proposed and drew up, a compromise on the basis laid down there. For while the articles kept the Confession intact in form they abandoned it in fact. They absolutely co-ordinated truth and error on the disputed points and said: "Tolerate us in holding the truth and we will tolerate you in holding the error." No formal action was taken by the General Synod, which was most likely due to these very articles of Charles P. Krauth. "Silently, yet no less surely, the brethren gave the most unmistakeable evidence that the views therein expressed met their concurrence." The editor of the *Lutheran Observer* was, however, not at all satisfied with this inaction of the General Synod. He felt sure that "the golden hour had arrived, and now was the happy juncture, appointed of God in His wise providence, for binding us together with cords of Christian love and tolerance on a liberal platform which could never be broken." Accordingly he made a motion that a select committee be appointed to take into consideration and report on this subject. But the motion found no support whatever and had to be withdrawn.

There was evidently in those days a singular approach between the leader of American Lutheranism and Charles Porterfield Krauth, which even inspired the New-School men with a hope of ultimately "seeing Charles right," for whom they had personally nothing but the

kindest feelings. "I think," wrote his father after the Reading Convention of the General Synod, "you have become pretty much of a favorite with Dr. S. S. Schmucker. He does not think you so hard a Lutheran, and your zeal for the General Synod was quite to his taste. I hope you will continue, as you have heretofore done, to treat him with respect." This kindly relation was considerably strengthened by the attitude of the younger Krauth in the controversy between Dr. J. A. Brown and Dr. S. S. Schmucker. The latter being extensively charged in the Church with being unsound on the subject of original sin and justification, Dr. Brown wrote an article on this subject for the *Evangelical Review* and afterward published a little pamphlet, "The New Theology: Its Abettors and Defenders," in which he undertook to prove that Dr. Schmucker's teaching on natural depravity, regeneration, and justification was unsound. C. P. Krauth, Jr., in reviewing Dr. Schmucker's reply, in the *Missionary*, bravely defended his former teacher against these charges.

"The impression made upon our mind," he said, "by the whole discussion is this: That Dr. Schmucker does not hold views fundamentally erroneous on the points in dispute, but that there are sentences, especially in his later works, which are not in accordance with the form of sound words; in short, that *he* is sound, though not all that he has written is. The solution of this apparent paradox we believe to be this: That, in his anxiety to overthrow what he regards as error, he has taken positions which are subversive not only of that which he rejects, but which are subversive, also, if they be thoroughly carried out, of his own system of faith. He has strengthened one part of his theology at the expense of the other. Interpreting his writings in the manner in which the

Augsburg Confession and the works of the Reformers have been sometimes interpreted in the recent controversy, we think that a plausible case is made out against them; but we need hardly add that we would enter our solemn protest against this whole style of hermeneutics, without reference to the question, Who is to apply it? or, Who is to be its victim?"

In consequence of Dr. J. A. Brown's charges, Dr. S. S. Schmucker's impeachment was threatened in the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary, at Gettysburg, and it was chiefly through the influence of C. P. Krauth, Jr., who manfully stood up for the professor, that the matter was dropped. This drew forth a grateful letter from Dr. S. S. Schmucker to Charles Porterfield Krauth, who "had the honor and Christian integrity to repel, at the meeting of the Board, the rumors of heterodoxy circulated by the Rev. J. Brown."

Once more, and for the last time, Charles P. Krauth had an opportunity to act as a liberal mediator in the interest of peace and forbearance in the General Synod. This was at the Convention in Pittsburg, May, 1859, shortly before he left that city for Philadelphia, when the question of admitting the Melanchthon Synod agitated the General Body. The Melanchthon Synod had been recently formed by some members of the Maryland Synod, who gathered around Dr. B. Kurtz on the principle of "elective affinity," and who represented an advanced "American Lutheranism." (See *Lutheran Observer*, December 11, 1857: The Call to the "Convention," signed by Benj. Kurtz and others.) There were doubts both as to the regularity of its formation and its acceptance of the faith of the Church. Dr. C. P. Krauth held that, inasmuch as the Melanchthon Synod did not ap-

pear to have any regularly-defined boundaries, and did not appear to clearly recognize the doctrines of the Bible as taught by our Church, they could only be received after having complied with the constitutional requirements of the General Synod. When the debate had been protracted into the fourth session, the following action was finally adopted, on motion of Dr. Krauth :

That we cordially admit the Melanchthon Synod, and would affectionately request the brethren of that Synod to express, officially, with a clearness which will remove all doubt, their adhesion to the principles of Synodical Division recognized by the General Synod; and that, whereas, in the Constitution of this body (Art. III., Sec. 8) it is declared that " the General Synod shall apply all their powers, their prayers, and their means, toward the prevention of schisms among us, etc."—we would fraternally solicit them to consider whether a change in their doctrinal basis, of the paragraph in regard to certain alleged errors, would not tend to the promotion of mutual love, and the furtherance of the great objects for which we are laboring together.

This action was adopted by a vote of ninety-eight against twenty-six, among the latter being men like Bassler, Hasselquist, Mann, Mühlenberg, Reynolds, Stohlmann, C. W. Schaeffer, and others. As in the position taken in his articles of 1857, so here also Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth is still found on the side of the majority in the General Synod. But he was not, as it was charged many years afterward, " the champion of the Melanchthon Synod; he had strongly, on principle, opposed its admission. But when the facts showed that the precedents established in the admission of a number of other Synods, and the relation of various bodies which openly threw away the Augsburg Confession for the

Definite Platform, had made it gross inconsistency and virtual self-destruction for the General Synod to reject the Melanchthon Synod, he had offered as the best thing the case allowed—that to the reception of the Melanchthon Synod should be attached a request that it should take action which would remove the causes of offence. This was all, in fact, the General Synod had left itself the power of doing. It was the thorough-going opposition which he had felt and shown to the admission of the Melanchthon Synod which made Dr. Charles P. Krauth the proper person to offer this resolution." (" First Free Lutheran Diet in America," p. 142.)

"APPLES OF GOLD IN PICTURES OF SILVER."

(Selected from Dr. Krauth's writings.)

The irresistible always has a serious time when it encounters the immovable.

Nationality must not obtrude itself into the sphere of humanity.

Though joys seem as buds, and griefs as thorns, it is one and the same vital energy of love which puts them both forth on the growth of human life—the roses to breathe sweetness amid the thorns, and the thorns to give security to the roses—both springing from the same soil, and borne upon the same root.

We may make compromises on preferences, but none on principles; we may surrender our likes, but not our faith.

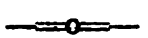
All other things are but the casket; truth is the jewel of the Church.

Error may look plausible on one or two sides, but the more you multiply the points of view, the more obvious become her deformities.

Whatever may be the judgment pronounced by men upon the Bible is a judgment on themselves.

Hard doubts are the penalties of hard thought; strong faith is its reward.

It is not so much the difficulties that make the sceptic, as the sceptic who makes the difficulties.



There is but one thing on earth worth having and worth fighting for, and that is truth.

A full love of the truth always makes a man morally brave.

Neutrality between good and evil always means secret sympathy with the evil; not, indeed, necessarily the concurrence of the judgment with the evil, but something in the moral state of the man in affinity with it.

The neutral man is controlled by supreme love of self. The question of right is to him nothing.

Nothing is more untrue, than much that is very sincere.

In the great battle of life, the secret of doing good, soldierly work, is to get upon a substantial hobby, and ride it with all your might.

A good man is a Shekinah. God dwells in him.

Energy without system is a giant without eyes, as system without energy is simply a steam-engine without the steam.

Music is more natural to man than speech. We all sing sooner than we talk.

Truth must proscribe, or be proscribed.

Oral tradition is a most un-Protestant species of evidence. The mouth is a Papist, the pen is a Protestant. "He said" is Romish; "It is written" is Lutheran.

If you have driven the nail home and clinched it, leave it, instead of battering away till you split the board and let it drop out.

The text is sometimes the great safeguard against the sermon.

Man's distinctive power is felt through what he does, woman's through what she is; yet the character of the one determines the nature of his activity, and the work of the other goes forth from her moral life.

Formalism is no more cured by fanaticism, than a frozen foot is healed by plunging it into boiling water.

What we give can never be lost, unless we give too little.

The Truth is God's, but He leaves her apparel to His Church.

Where disgust begins, profit ends. The man who recklessly assails even the prejudices of his fellow-men, will conciliate no regard for himself, nor respect for the truth he is aiming to diffuse.

The Pharisees of our days are often rigid economists, and save the price of a trumpeter by doing their own puffing.

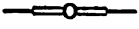
Pray for the eyes, the light will take care of itself.

Unless the Church watches terms, she will soon lose things.

When the sacredness of terms is gone, the sacredness of Truth will no longer be felt by men.

Sin is wretchedness in the bud; wretchedness is sin in the fruitage.

Pride is the highest peril of great natures, and great nations.



Some men are on the level of their systems, some rise above them, some fall below them.

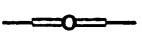
To have two faiths is the bud of having no faith; the error is the cancer of the truth.

Connivance at error is intolerance to truth.

I believe in human progress; in the bud that unfolds to the blossom, and the blossom that matures to the fruit; in the seed that springs to the tree; in the past that generates the present; in the child that is father to the man. I believe in God, and as I believe in God. I believe in the future.

Religion sighs for unity, religionism pants for unionism.

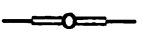
The infatuation of an author is like that of a mother, who loves her weakest child best.



(Speaking of an unsafe leader): His name carries weight with it, but it is the weight of the millstone.

Truth is not a mere ornament of unity; it is the very life of it.

Nothing more rapidly prepares the way for men to trifle with the convictions they hold in common, than the habit of trifling with convictions in which they differ.



Where an old pastor remains in a congregation, the position of his successor will be like that of a man who

has married a divorced woman, and has the original husband in the house as a boarder. Out of the pure force of habit, the first husband may be too marital for the jealousy of the second. Much, of course, will depend upon the prudence of the lady, and the extent to which she has thrown off the old love and put on the new.

We are not always most needed where we would be most happy, and the post of trial is often the post of honor and of highest usefulness.

If we would be felt in the work of drawing others together, we must be true to ourselves. The liberality of mere carelessness goes for nothing.

If a Church cannot keep itself from dropping in pieces, it will hardly contribute much to holding together the body of Christianity at large.

A pure Church can have but one faith; that faith makes her pure; losing it, she loses her purity, she loses herself; a pure faith once, is a pure faith forever. The ages cannot touch it, nor change it.

The faith is older than the creed. The pure creed is begotten of the pure faith. As the faith has life in itself, it gives to the creed to have life in itself. Hence a true creed once, is a true creed forever.

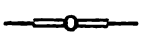
True art is not the antagonist of nature, but her child, emulating the parent with a holy love.

The object of true art is but the general form of nature, stripped of the meanness of the individual, and of the sordidness of all peculiar times, circumstances, and influences; the substance without the accidents.

Nature only presents beautiful things, but art strives to discover and reveal beauty.

The ultimate object of search to art, is that whose image is all nature, but which lies beyond nature, and constitutes the idea on which all is framed.

True art is an absolute essential, in that condition of society in which man has passed from the period of impulse, to that of science.



Imperfectly defined responsibilities always make discomforts.

True love is not an accident of life, or a part of it. It is life itself. The heart throbs, the eye kindles, the hand moves by it. It is the soul of the soul.

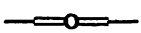
There is a bliss whose very fulness makes the heart incredulous, makes it doubt, weighs it down with a sort of despondency, a vague dread that such joy must be unrealized.

What confidence is implied when woman gives her heart to man! She commits everything to that simple

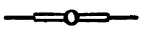
trust she feels in the one she loves. A mistake in her case involves the wreck of a whole life, fond hopes—all! Yet she permits herself to love sometimes "not wisely," yet even then "too well."

We never have the key to another nature till we have the key to our own; and the most congenial natures are those we are most sure to mistake, as long as we mistake our own.

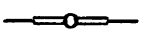
Charity is a quality of the heart, not a detached act of the hand; it prompts the hand, and hallows its deed.



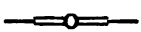
Whom Christ died to redeem, charity lives to bless.



The plan of a great human life is not something which the man makes; it is something which makes the man.



The wide and full-formed plans which men make before they begin to act, are always failures.



The battles of thought require more time than is needed for the work of the sword. Therefore the soldier of the cross must learn to wait.

When men lack arguments, they generally fall back upon adjectives.

Wit was as certainly created to keep down nonsense, as cats were created to keep down mice.

We believe in the sex of souls, and think that a woman who aggravates her style so as to make it sound like a man's, commits as great a blunder as if she wore a hat and boots.

The true Satirist must be a Philanthropist.

A scholar is too apt to write a book for himself; to make most of what he likes most.

The New England thinker always thinks with at least an imaginary crowd around him. He always thinks to people—never to himself.

(Speaking of a celebrated New England lecturer): It is the applause which, as a rule, begets the sentence; rather than the sentence the applause.

Sermons—even good ones—are the lurking-place of platitude.

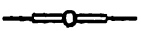
While it is very improper to steal an author's book, it is highly moral to digest it.

We never saw the church yet, in which the professed saints could afford to allow the avowed sinners the total benefit of the preaching for a week at a time.

New members assimilate themselves to what is around them. Brought in contact with "salt," they are preserved. Brought into union with an impure leaven, they are not only corrupted, but become a leaven of evil to others.

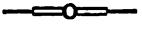
Those who weep true tears are not willing to weep often.

The charter of immortality granted by God to man, has its seal in the soul of man's soul, the life of man's life.



There is a star in the heart as well as in the brain: both are reflectors, at different levels, of the same orb, and the true Magi use both to fix the star itself which is to guide them.

Battles cannot be fought with olive branches; neither, where principle is involved, can battles be prevented by olive branches. The Dove comes after the deluge, not before it.



He who would add anything to the sum of human knowledge must, as a rule, have a specialty. Hobbies are those needful beasts of burden by whose means all travelling must be done in parts of the earth where railroads are not yet built. Every science begins and progresses through the zeal and devotion of individuals: one or two men take up an obscure subject, examine,

develop, pursue, and master it, until the world receives, in some measure, the result of their interest and assiduity.

The Universe! it took but six days to make it, and

> " Formed for the confutation of the fool,
> Whose lying heart disputes against a God,
> That office served, it must be swept away."

But the Bible! It took all eternity to furnish one line of it: " Chosen in Him before the foundation of the world;" and it will take another eternity to consummate another line: " Receiving the end of our faith, the salvation of our souls."

The Problem of the Church is not to induce men to profess religion. The Church of Rome has solved that problem, and any church can solve it. Only lower the standard of religion sufficiently, and the work is done. The great problem is, to make Christian Christians.